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ART. I.—THE END OF A CENTURY.

IN the old Hindu world there were three aristocratic, or "twice-born" classes—the students, the warriors, and the citizens: but they formed only a small minority of the Indian population. There was also a large multitude, originally representing, perhaps, the resident tribes who had submitted to the Aryan invasion, afterwards largely recruited by the offspring of mixed marriages. These were excluded from religious and political equality, yet tolerated as essential to the existence of the superior community. The four classes made up the Hindu nation as recognised by their early jurists. But, beyond and below the Brahmans, Khattryas, Vaisyas, and Shudras, were earlier races still, generally known as Dasyas, who fled from invading civilization, and preserved in remote mountain haunts a rude and incorrigible freedom.

In the Europe of the "dark ages" which followed the fall of the Western Empire, a very similar state of society may be said to have arisen. There were three prominent sections of mankind: the celibacy of the *clergy* prevented the literary class from being purely hereditary, like the Indian Brahmans; otherwise the classes were almost as rigidly marked off from each other as in Hindustan. The *warriors* were born noble, and their possessions and privileges descended from father to son. The *citizens* intermarried, and preserved their manners, customs and pursuits in urban guilds. The *allodial* proprietors of land and the free farmers combined to make a fourth class, not privileged, yet on the whole protected. Beneath this fourfold structure the hinds and serfs toiled without reward, small of stature, dark of hair and skin, such as they still were in northern France when Froissart described the Jacquerie.

Michelet looked upon the original French Revolution of 1789 as the rising of the Gauls against the Franks: it might be more accurate to regard it as a struggle of the Vaisyas, a war of numbers against privilege, stimulated by a vague feeling of the termination of an epoch. The sunset of our own secular day is falling on the revolt of a more deeply submerged

population, the Sudras and Dasyas of Europe. *Tenebrae factae sunt super universam terram; et petrae scissae sunt, et terra mota est, et multa corpora quæ dormierant surrexerunt.* This sinister resurrection marks the decline of an age, and a trumpet seems to sound in the ears of all those whose blood harbours the traditions of ancient subjugation.

No earnest observer can fail to notice the uneasiness that is being just now generally manifested in all parts of what, for lack of a better word, we have to designate by the old term "Christendom." There is a section of the world where man is still in a condition of primitive manners and customs, but with this we have here no concern. And there is equally a remote portion of humanity which, although it has shaken off many savage rudiments, has gone on other paths than ours. In parts of South America and Africa, in some of the equatorial islands, in the interior of Australia, indigenous man is as yet almost such as when the neolithic races first emerged from the last glacial drift. In what is commonly called "the East" we see nations—the Chinese, Hindus, Arabs, and Moors—who have a civilization of their own in which the ideas born of the Gospel and of Chivalry, of Roman law and of Greek freedom, have had no influence. But in all the countries inhabited by the descendants of the west Aryans, there is a common stock of habit and feeling which is just now stirring under a sense of "The close of a century." The period is, of course, arbitrary and artificial: we might count by epochs of eighty or ninety years; but we do not: and the termination of the period that has been so generally chosen as representing a cycle of man's history, comes thus to have a sort of natural effect on those whom it concerns. In the state-religion of ancient Rome there were "secular games"; and at one celebration the court-poet of Augustus could not think of a better prayer for posterity than that the praises of Rome's tutelary deities should be sung and their aid invoked, *denos decies per annos*. But the Empire at the next recurrence of such a period was in a less peaceful condition; and the Dacian wars of Trajan were but a mild foretaste of what was coming. The centuries now closed in ever gathering gloom; and one goes through the dark ages without coming on a fresh indication of periodic unrest, mainly because all the years were so full of trouble. In the year 1,000 A.D., however, a general expectation of the day of Judgment affected Europe. "Redeem your souls while you yet may," wrote a Bishop of the time, "so that you may come with security to the tribunal of the eternal Judge." But in general there was a coarse simplicity which prevented mankind from reflecting; and one part of a century

was as wild and miserable as another. A kind of puerile indifference combined with almost universal pre-occupation to dull the consciousness of chronology; and centuries ended again and again without their end being felt or noticed. But gradually the condition of Europe began to mend: the printing-press diffused thought: the feeling that an epoch was closing began to have its epidemic action: until we, at last, in our own time, find it taking universal expression. The end of the 17th century had already hinted at this, in the ferment which appeared in several of the foremost European countries. In England the fall of the Stuarts ushered in the birth of Parliamentary government. In France the Protestant movement was finally crushed, and absolute monarchy of an almost Asiatic type appeared to have obtained its firm establishment. The fugitive oppressor of Britain found harbour at the French Court; and the two neighbour-nations stood opposed in a blaze of hatred. But these manifestations of excitement were local and trifling in comparison with what marked the closing years of the following century. Then the "Revolution," *par excellence*, came to a head among the French; and its principles flew around like winged seeds. In the British islands there was the Irish Rebellion, with all its consequences; and, what was still more important, the rise of a new school of thought and letters, where the authority of Pope and Addison was overthrown, and where the foundations of political and social change were slowly but surely laid. In Germany, too, a new æsthetic was originated; while Kant and Hegel gave laws to European philosophy. Above all, we note the almost universal emancipation of the lower middle-classes.

At the end of our age we observe a new set of symptoms. Home-Rule demands are eagerly pressed in Ireland, Norway, and the ill-cemented parts of the Austrian Empire. Socialism, Nihilism, Anarchy, are propagated by men with the spirit of martyrdom, and more than the usual intelligence of martyrs. The late Emperor Napoleon III used to say that Kings were in no danger of assassination but from priests or the dupes of priests, because a conviction of reward beyond the grave was the only thing that could make a man indifferent to the danger of immediate loss of his own life in cold blood. We have been taught another lesson, by men who incur what they believe to be annihilation if they can but make their victims perish with them. The object of these fanatics is neither revenge nor patriotism: they avow their misguided impulse to be inspired by the hope of destroying a civilization that keeps the labouring masses in a subordinate situation. It seems as if the century that ended with the enfranchisement

of the Third Estate might come to be succeeded by one which is to end in the rise of a Fourth Estate; not the newspaper-press to which the name has been given by Philistine complacency, but a freshly developed social organ, whose power is to be shown by the destruction of all the rest.

Cautious enquirers may well ask, what is the foundation of this new movement? To what extent it is a legitimate product of the past, and in what degree it can be made into a harmless element of future evolution, is, in fact, a question forming the most vital problem of contemporaneous historical study. The great change introduced into European ideas at the end of the 18th century was originally defended on *a priori* grounds which have been shaken by recent thinkers. The removal of privilege—the “private law” which birth and riches had obtained or created for themselves—has claims of its own; but it cannot rest on its old basis of an alleged equality. All men are *not born equal*; and to say that they are, is to weaken a good cause. It is, indeed, on account of natural inequality that a just and humane policy requires that the caprices of nature should be as far as possible redressed by man. And this measure of charity is not alone due to weakness arising out of physical accidents. Modern philanthropy has long contended against the principle of “natural selection,” to the extent of providing instruction for the blind, relief for the helpless, protection for the weak, maintenance for the aged. The more advanced communities are now dimly recognising a new claim to indulgence, arising out of historical considerations. Besides such natal inequalities as are due to imperfect brains or limbs, we are learning to recognise differences due to race, and to see that the adjective “lower,” applied to social strata, is by no means one of contemptuous assumption, but one based on the facts of history. If it be argued that our predecessors had already acted upon the same belief, we can still make out a claim to be reformers: the action of our predecessors was for maintaining the subjugation of the “lower classes”: the new ideal is that they should be helped to rise. The fundamental principle of universal equality was a fallacy which marred the movement of the last century: that of our own age will prosper in proportion as it is animated by a principle which is historically true.

As the biography of mankind comes to be studied attentively, a law of universal application is observed; wherever a portion of the earth's surface offers advantages of soil and climate, it will always be found to be occupied by at least two sets of inhabitants—namely, the first “aboriginal” dwellers, and then, those by whom the first have been conquered. Where these two races have been of kindred blood, a more or less complete

fusion has taken place: elsewhere conquerors and conquered have continued to dwell apart. An extreme instance of the one state of things is seen in China and in India; the other is illustrated by England. Comparing the superposition of races to geological formation, the one is an instance of metamorphic union, the other of distinct stratification; yet in various ways every great nation shows signs of having a similar origin; a gifted and able race reposes on an ethnic bed of earlier origins. Thus, in the case of China, already cited, the Tartars are still the masters; though perhaps many of the Chinese themselves are also descended from northern invaders. In India a like phenomenon appears; the Dravidian conquerors have taken the best lands from the aborigines, who still hold the hills and forests in many parts of the interior; while the Aryans have driven the Dravidians out of the fertile valleys and sent them into less accessible regions of the South. In Palestine the Hebrews—coming immediately from Egypt, yet with evident marks of a northern origin—conquered the native Canaanites, making them “hewers of wood and drawers of water.” In Greece a similar evolution is exhibited in the Dorian invasion, the position of the Eupatrids in Attica, the condition of the Helots in Laconia, the general system of slavery. The story of the foundation of Rome reveals a memory of conquest which was long preserved in the separation between *Plebs* and *Populus*. Something of the sort is shown in the occupation of France by the Gauls, and of what is now called England by Celts, Frisians, and Danes. Even in America, tradition and still existing traces point to similar events in Mexico and in Peru.

II.

These examples are enough to show the origin of what has been termed “the proletariat” in countries especially noticeable for their natural advantages and important history. Some further observation, however, may be useful. The great rule is clear: the conquering race has never—or very rarely—exterminated the conquered. In the opening struggle the adult males of the latter must, no doubt, pay the penalty of defeat. Besides those who are slain in war, or in flying from lost fields, a great number will, probably enough, be massacred in cold blood. The present writer has a very distinct recollection of a conversation that he had with an Afghan chief at the time of Bazaine’s surrender in 1870. Being informed that the German Emperor had sent for 200,000 rations for the

captive garrison of Metz, the Asiatic noble—a man of charming manners—said, in a thoughtful manner: “Two hundred thousand rations? Hm! Do you know what one of our Amirs would have sent for? . . . Why, two hundred thousand extra sharp sabres, to be sure.” At the same time there would be many males who would be taken—otherwise than in battle—as the country was slowly occupied, as ploughmen and other labourers: if these were destroyed, the invaders would starve, or be constrained to labour themselves. Moreover, a conquering army, even if intending to remain in a country, would not be likely to bring their families with them; and thus would be led to make wives of the younger women. The prohibitions in the Jewish Scriptures, and in those of the Hindus, are enough to confirm this supposition—at least as regards those two cases—for it could not be needful to invoke Divine authority to legislate against what people were not tempted to do. The story of the Rape of the Sabine women in Roman history, or myth, must be admitted as another case in point: for, even if such an event be wholly imaginary, its very supposition points to possibility: things that never took place may indeed find record in mythology, but never things that are not believed likely to have happened. In the conquest of England by the Norman-French we know that neither the men nor the women were generally massacred; and we may reasonably conclude, from that and from the case of India, that in Britain the Celts did not exterminate the aborigines, nor the Saxons the Celts. Nothing can be positively concluded from the evidence of language. The Hebrews probably adopted the Canaanitish tongue in Palestine; the Normans certainly adopted English in England, as the Goths did in Spain, the Spanish, and the Franks the Romance in Gaul. On the other hand, in many conquered countries indigenous languages have disappeared, or become secondary and subordinate, like Erse in Ireland and Scotland, and Welsh in Brittany. The speech of the Præ-Aryans has died in Europe—unless it may survive in Basque and Finnish; but that by itself is hardly proof that the races who spoke it have entirely ceased to exist.

Now, granting for the moment that such races have contrived to persist, under all the disadvantages of defeat, it may well be that two consequences will emerge, for neither of which the student may be at first prepared.

(1.) The asperities of conquest, on the one hand, and of defeat, on the other, will be softened in course of time, and by the necessities of association: while the smaller the country, the more rapid will be the process. Thus in Ireland the Anglo-Norman settlers became—so we have been often told—

more Irish than the Irish themselves: whereas, in the vast and varied regions of India, a couple of thousand years of Aryan supremacy have left the Brahmins still a class apart, and many of the aboriginal tribes in a condition of irreconcilable isolation.

(2.) The first comers, the apparently original inhabitants, are perhaps the people best suited to the environments in which they and their ancestors have lived from time immemorial. Supposing that the neolithic people came into Europe twenty thousand years ago, or even ten only, they would have long since become better suited to the climate and products of the country than Aryans wandering from Persia a few centuries before the Christian era. In the same way, we see at this day, in India, a persistence of many lower types, not only of men, but also of animals and vegetables, of which the higher forms have to be imported, or reared from imported stocks, if their superiority is to be preserved. Down to the appearance of the Sikhs in the North and of the British in the East and South, India was a hunting-ground for fair-skinned immigrants from Central Asia, whose descendants degenerated in the most marked and rapid manner after they had settled in the country.

Now, both these tendencies afford an obvious preparation for fusion. The conquered race in any given country must be gradually recovering themselves; growing stronger and more numerous, in their own autochthonous form and character, at the same time that the conquerors tend not only to familiarise, but to assimilate themselves to the descendants of those whom their ancestors subjugated. And yet, while we are arguing thus, we are at the same time obliged to see that there is an extreme at which such fusion may become an evil. The case, already cited, of the Anglo-Normans in Ireland is most instructive, and is too well-known to require detail here. The same undesirable fusion goes on in Spanish America, in India, and wherever a race of hopelessly inferior antecedents and character absorbs a small body of high-bred intruders. In such cases the Brahminical rules are the more useful; where, the blood of the conquerors being kept pure from intermixture, the conqueror-class is enabled to preserve its identity and maintain a high standard of life and institutions. It is mainly where the conquered are somewhat of kin to the conquerors that a fusion of races can be reckoned on to produce results that shall be wholly beneficial to themselves and to the world.

At the same time, where neither fusion nor amicable separation has occurred, we are shown by history a third way, which—for a time at least—has often led to tragical results. Instances of this which have made their bloody mark on our

recollections and records, are unhappily too numerous. In many parts of the world—wherever the governing faculties of the conquering race have been ill-organised—occasions have presented themselves when the subject aborigines—unwilling to bear oppression, yet unable to improve their position by peaceful means—have burst out in wild outbreak. A terrible, though very short-lived, instance of this uninstructed and purely malignant effort of violence is to be found in the peasant-rising of Northern France in the 14th century ; which so puzzled the worthy Froissart, and which has been described by Thierry, Mérimée, and other modern writers. Swarms of unkempt rustics, “black and little,” as we are told by the high-pacing celebrant of an expiring feudalism, seized the town of Beauvais and, spreading into the Isle of France, carried terror and havoc into the country-houses of their oppressors, until overthrown and destroyed in multitudes by Gaston de Foix and his armour-plated cavaliers. Before the end of the same century an almost similar scene had appeared in England ; but the followers of John Ball and Wat Tyler showed in their comparative abstinence from arson and murder, as also by the comparative clearness and reasonableness of their demands, that they had already made some progress in social and political evolution. The Peasants’ War of Germany, the temporary success of John of Leyden, and the Irish Rebellion of 1642, are so many more examples of the same thing. In India, we have had similar experiences, down almost to the present day. So late as 1855, the Santals, an aboriginal people in Bengal, rose, not against the British Government as such, but rather against civilization and all the supporters of civilization, chiefly represented to them by the Hindu landlords and other creditors who demanded payment of dues and debts. Armed with bows and arrows, these sons of the soil swarmed into the fields, burnt the houses of the Hindus, and cast themselves in vain upon the bayonets of the British sepoys. In the United States we have sometimes seen the so-called “Redskins” display a similar hopeless ferocity of impatience.

In all these cases we can trace two common symptoms. Popular risings—unless when instigated and perhaps led, as they have sometimes been, by members of the higher races—have been more marked by mischief than by gain. And they have been generally suppressed without much difficulty, leaving behind them malignant memories, and making any true fusion more remote and hard of attainment than might otherwise have been the case. La Bruyère, in his sombre way, gave a view of these things more than two hundred years ago, calling the Breton peasantry wild beasts who yet were—men ; by whose labours we were fed and who perhaps deserved to be fed themselves.

But, if it be true that the subordination of classes has been thus generally due to conquest, we need not therefore conclude that the division must necessarily be permanent. Two ways, at least, of healing the sores of the fallen, and of strengthening the prosperous at the same time, have been tried in two different parts of the world. In some Eastern countries an attempt has been made to reconcile the lower classes, without actual amalgamation, by increased privileges and gentle treatment. Thus in India we see the Brahmins—while refusing to intermarry with other castes—conducting themselves with general urbanity, speaking the language of the people, and adopting many of their pursuits. There is no difficulty, for instance, in procuring Brahmin recruits for the army; and a regiment of Brahmin soldiers would perhaps be found freer from caste prejudices than any other body of native troops. During the revolt of 1857 there was such a corps at Saugor, and it was almost the only one in the Bengal army by which no objection was made to the use of the supposed unclean cartridges. Nevertheless, such men would never dream of admitting claims of lower castes to social, religious, or any other kind of equality; and when their uniforms were off, they would not associate with native officers of less exalted birth; by whom, indeed, they would be approached with every mark of respect. So, in countries where the laws of Islam prevail, travellers are struck with an even more complete social freedom amongst all the members of the superior class. Here the claims of birth have, indeed, scarcely any advantage. It may, doubtless, happen that some kind of hereditary right has been established on one side, and that, on the other, some hereditary disabilities exist: the Sultanate may be a prize to be competed for by the Sultan's sons, in default of a more completely regulated succession; the great fiefs may descend in the families of the chiefs; the sons of slaves may be forced to inherit the status of their parents. *Status*, in fact, is the primary characteristic of such communities. Yet, in how many instances, and in what various manners, have such restrictions been broken through! The slaves have been treated without *hauteur* by masters who exercised over them unchallenged power, extending even to the taking of life: the stories current in such countries abound in instances of capricious tyranny, but never show any resentment of jesting and familiarity practised by the slaves. Men in that condition, too, have often risen to the highest positions in public life: such were the Mamelukes of Egypt and the Slave-Kings of India and Central Asia. The mighty Sabaktigin, founder of the House of Ghor, was a slave originally; as were also Aibak, called afterwards Kutb-ud-din, and Ulagh Beg, who ruled Hindustan—as Minister

or as King—for more than forty years, and is known in history as Sultan Balban.

That being the way in which the asperities of conquest have been softened in societies where primitive conditions continue to operate, we are constrained to admit that the necessities of human conduct are capable of engendering at least one sort of *modus vivendi*. But another—we shall perhaps say, a more civilized—way has been adapted in some societies of a later and more complex evolution. In place of ameliorating *status*, modern nations have introduced the principle of *contract*; and in some cases both methods have been used at once. In England, in Belgium, in France, emancipation of subject classes has proceeded further than elsewhere: and almost all the subjects are citizens having full power of contract. In the case of France, however (where the process has been undertaken of set purpose), the freedom of the city has been thrown open, indeed, to all, yet political liberty has continued to be hampered by a certain administrative strictness inherited from the despotic government of the past. In Britain, on the contrary, where the national character is less systematic, the comparative smallness of the area and the fundamental tolerance and benevolence of character among the conquering classes have combined to cause a fusion so complete, that there is now scarcely any sign of race-ascendancy left, and there even appears some danger of a complete social revolution caused by chance and *laissez-faire*. In America two peculiar forms of society have arisen out of the peculiar conditions of colonial life. In North America we find an almost perfect state of equality among the whites, while the red races and the blacks are still confined to their separate social existence: and, practically, the exclusion extends some way into the political system also. In South America, and wherever States have been founded on the old colonial arrangements of Spain and Portugal, one finds a mixture of all the above systems: the Moorish antecedents of the white settlers are perhaps at the bottom of a certain facility in the finding of a public career by the coloured races; while the government—in theory at least—is generally regular to rigorousness, and the descendants of the white colonists are still distinguished by a certain exclusiveness in social respects. It cannot, perhaps, be held that any particular form of government is specially favourable, or specially unfavourable, to that metamorphic upheaval of the proletary stratum which is intended when one speaks of “a fusion of classes.” From what is going on in Russia it might be supposed, indeed, that neither of the methods—oriental or occidental—is facilitated under an autocratic monarchy. Looking at Prussia and many German States, we might be disposed to think that

aristocratic institutions were at least equally oppressive. But, then, we must bear in mind the phenomena presented by the actual condition of politics in the Austrian Empire, where the prince himself is personally anxious for the introduction of universal suffrage ; also the *ancien regime* of France, where the revolutionary propaganda was initiated, and for a time supported, by members of the nobility, such as Lafayette, Mirabeau, Condorcet, and many others, less conspicuous, but not less convinced.

Perhaps one of the most remarkable instances is England, where the Plantagenet Kings and the fine aristocracy which perished almost entirely in the Wars of the Roses, often combined for the liberties of the people, even in opposition—sometimes—to the express desires of the elective chamber. Not to dwell on the commonplace instance of *Magna Charta*, which belongs to a very rude society and of which too much may easily be made ; and passing by the action of de Montfort in the next reign as the spasmodic effort of a rebel, we can find more positive instances in the Rolls of Parliament. Thus, during the reign of Edward III, the Commons more than once applied to the King-in-Council to issue an ordinance for the corporal punishment of workmen who “struck” for an increase of wages, an application always rejected by the House of Lords and the Government. Again, in the minority of Richard II, the pardon and promise of redress given by the boy-King to the rebels of 1381, were abrogated by a usurping House of Commons ; and a few years later saw the same body defeated in an attempt to check the progress of popular instruction. The Commons then prayed—as we should now say, passed a Bill—to prevent the lower classes from sending their children to school, in the interest (as they plainly said) of “*tous les Francs du royaume* ;” by which phrase they most probably meant to indicate the French-speaking classes who were—or claimed to be—descended from the followers of the Conqueror. This deliberate endeavour to perpetuate the ascendancy and privilege of an intruding oligarchy was promptly repressed by the Royal Council. The tendency of things in Ireland has been in the same direction for centuries ; and, were it not desirable to avoid modern party-questions, we might fairly say that it has continued to be manifested down to our own times. Chesterfield, Fitzwilliam, and Cornwallis may at least be safely cited as Viceroys who had to contend almost as much with Saxon ascendancy as with Celtic disaffection. In America the events of the Civil War in the last generation afford an analogy : for if we take the negroes as representing the suppressed races of other countries, we see all the humanity and wisdom of Lincoln, the President, and of his advisers, arrayed

for their protection against the dominant whites. On the whole, then, we may conclude that the best hope for the future is in a government which has enough stability to be at once unselfish and strong; to foster the legitimate efforts of the multitude, while it thwarts the egotism of faction. The question will still remain how to reconcile the emancipation of the subject masses with the requisite attention to the superior information and ability of the leading classes, no longer tainted with traces of conquest, yet inspired by traditions of true generosity.

III.

By "leading classes" and "aristocracy" we are, however, not to understand the conventional nobility created by the letters-patent of a modern Minister-of-State. Dukes and peers of this artificial sort may be the sons of brewers, pawnbrokers, or Jews: though of course they may, on the other hand, belong to the true aristocracy. That is a matter independent of political arrangements. The true nobility of a State consists of those who are the inheritors of noble instincts; "thorough-bred," as race-horses are thorough-bred. To such, and to such alone, should belong the guidance of a nation's fortunes. Such were the Talbots, Cliffords, Cecils, Pymms and Hampdens of England; the Xaintrailles, Dunois, Sullys, Richelieus of France; in the Netherlands the Egmonts, Hoorns, and the Prince of Orange. The problem how to make the best use of such guides is, no doubt, somewhat complicated by the modern doctrine of household suffrage: we have yet to see how to give all citizens a place in the City of the Constitution without abandoning the direction of leisured patriots like those who have been named above.

In former times, in the Republics of medieval Italy, as in those of ancient Greece, the ideal was quite different from that which has come into existence in modern Europe since the French Revolution. The difference is much the same as that between a steam ship and an ancient galley. In the one the officers and sub-officers did the directing work on deck, while the vessel derived its impulse from galley-slaves chained to their oars and kept at work by the whip. In the other, a new force has been introduced: and, if the engineers and stokers refused or neglected to tend the machinery, there would be no steam, and the occupants of the deck would exert themselves in vain. The analogy is almost too obvious for application. If the power of the ship be derived from the good order of the machinery and the willing co-operation of the hands below, none the less imperative are the presence of the navigating staff on the bridge, the vigilance of quarter-masters at the steering-places, the readiness of all members of the

crew to repair, each to his respective station, at the call of discipline. To make the most of all powers, to use the union of the many and the skill of the few, this is the true fusion and the hopeful ideal of the new democracy.

These symptoms are almost confined to Europe, for the present at least. In North America the aboriginal races have been overpowered or amalgamated, although it may be possible to observe a latent source of trouble in the negro population of part of the United States. In Central and South America the earlier occupants are more largely represented, and—for various reasons—it is the white population that seems to be disappearing. In most parts of Asia there are numerous suppressed social strata ; but their volcanic force is lost. Neither a reasoned conviction of numerical strength, nor an epidemic sense of the termination of an epoch, is likely to rouse the Siberian savages, the Ainos of Japan, the Bhils and Kols of India. But in the countries where society arose out of the Roman Empire and the fusion of Christianity with conquest which succeeded, the end of the nineteenth century is dark with social portent. The days of conquest are past: the barbarians of that period have left a layer of aristocracy which Matthew Arnold condemned, but which is becoming more or less worn and thin. The modern danger is from the descendants of the servile classes of the ancient Empire. It behoves the intermediate population to help the democracy to rise by fair means, while aiding as far as possible in its own preservation.

H. G. KEENE.

ART. II.—THE REAL MADAME SANS-GÈNE.

(APROPOS OF THE FRENCH PLAY AT THE *GAIETY*.)

THIS is the story they tell in Paris of the origin of *Madame Sans-Gêne*. M. Moreau had read the Memoirs of General de Marbot. He saw in the slight sketch of Thérèse Figueur, who served as a dragoon under the name of Sans-Gêne, a dramatic subject of great possibilities, and at once began to embody his idea in a play. The action was laid in 1797, and Bonaparte's jealousy formed the main motive, while Madame Sans-Gêne, who was at one time an intimate friend of the Empress Josephine, was one of the principal characters.

M. Moreau showed his play to M. Sardou, who enthusiastically endorsed the main conception, but doubted whether so important a part could be given to Mme. Figueur, whose name and history were almost unknown.

"Let us replace Thérèse Figueur by the famous Maréchale Lefebvre, who was a real Madame Sans-Gêne," suggested M. Sardou, "and we shall be able to develop your plot into a capital play."

Thus was laid the foundation of the drama which has won such an irresistible vogue for Mme. Réjane in Paris and London. For Mme. Thérèse Figueur, the historical Sans-Gêne, was substituted the Duchesse de Dantzig, whose homely and unconventional character was developed and heightened, for dramatic purposes, to the verge of caricature.

The real history of Mme. Lefebvre, afterwards Duchesse de Dantzig, was full of romantic incidents. Originally a washer-woman in the Strassburg barracks, she married Sergeant Lefebvre, and accompanied him in the campaign of 1792 against Austria. When her husband was raised to the rank of General, Mme. Lefebvre returned to her wash-tub, saying that it was well to be sure of a livelihood, as no one could tell how things would turn out. Things turned out well, however, and Mme. Lefebvre soon left her laundry for Josephine's Court. There are innumerable stories of her unconventional manners and still less conventional speech in the Memoirs of the Empire, many of which are untranslatable,—hardly to be quoted even in French. One of the most popular anecdotes relates that the Chamberlain once told her that on that day the Empress could receive no one.

"Don't you know who I am?" retorted the imperturbable Mme. Lefebvre; "Go and tell the Empress that it is I, the Duchesse de Dantzig!"

The Chamberlain insisted that the Empress would see no one; but at last carried Mme. Lefebvre's message to the Empress, who, coming to the door of her apartment, invited Mme. Lefebvre to enter. "You were quite right to insist, madame la Duchesse," said the Empress, "I am always visible for you." Entering the room, madame la Duchesse turned to the Chamberlain and said with a laugh—"That's one for you, my boy, eh?" The unfortunate functionary blushed to the ears, and retired in confusion.

Mme. Lefebvre wished to buy a house. The porter showed her a room lined with shelves.

"What is the use of this?" she asked. "This is the library, Mme la Marechale!" answered the porter.

"And what is it for?"

"To keep books in, madame!"

"Oh, nonsense!" replied Mme. Lefebvre; "we won't have any such rubbish here! My husband is not a book worm; neither am I. We shall turn it into a store-room!"

Another story is recorded by Mme. Villetard.

Napoleon had warned the Marechale Lefebvre that she must reform her language. "It was all very well in Josephine's time," he said, "but I shall not tolerate it in the presence of the Austrian Emperor's daughter."

Mme. Lefebvre, who hardly dared to pronounce a word after this warning, was playing whist one evening. She made a blunder that threatened to prove fatal.

"Marechale," cried her exasperated partner, "you have made a frightful blunder."

"Ah, ma foi, je m'en f. . . !" calmly replied Mme. Lefebvre; but, looking up, she saw that the Emperor had overheard her, and was standing with arms crossed, frowning at her angrily.

"Non, non, je, ne m'en f. . . pas!" she cried in terror; "Je ne m'en f. . . pas!"

It is probably to her husband, Marshal Lefebvre, that the famous saying:—"Do not be so proud of your ancestors; I myself am an ancestor!" should really be ascribed.

This same Marshal Lefebvre was once complimented by a friend on his splendid and luxurious palace:

"You are very lucky, Marshal! Heaven has been very good to you."

"Would you like it all?" replied the Marshal; "it is perfectly easy. Go down into the courtyard, and I will set two soldiers at every window to shoot at you. If you are not killed, I'll give you whatever you envy me. That is how I got it?"

Marshal Lefebvre's was the first title ever created by Napoleon. Just after the taking of Dantzic, on the 24th of

May, 1807, the Emperor sent for Lefebvre at six in the morning. He was at work with the Major-General of the army, when Lefebvre's arrival was announced.

"Ah!" said the Emperor, "Monsieur le Duc has not kept us long waiting."

Then, turning to the officer in attendance, he said, "Tell the Duc de Dantzig that I sent for him to breakfast with me this morning."

The officer in attendance, thinking that Napoleon was mistaken as to the name, replied that it was not the Duke of Danzig, but Marshal Lefebvre, who was in waiting.

"Il parait, monsieur," retorted the Emperor, "que vous me croyez plus capable de faire un *conte* qu'un Duc."

The officer returned to Marshal Lefebvre, who was waiting in some trepidation, and addressed him: "*Monsieur le Duc*, the Emperor invites you to breakfast with him, and requests you to wait a quarter of an hour."

The marshal, who did not notice the title the officer gave him, bowed and sat down. In a quarter of an hour, a second officer came to conduct the Marshal to the Emperor, who was already breakfasting. Napoleon saluted him, saying:

"Good-morning, Monsieur le Duc; take a seat close to me."

The marshal, astonished at this mode of address, first believed that the Emperor was joking.

"Do you like chocolate, Monsieur le Duc?" again asked the Emperor.

"Why... Yes, your Majesty!" replied Lefebvre, still mystified.

"Well, we are not going to have any for breakfast; but I will give you a pound from Dantzig. Since you took the city, it is only just that you should get something from it."

Then the Emperor, leaving the table, opened a little cabinet, from which he took a small oblong packet saying:—

"Duc de Dantzig, accept this chocolate; these little presents keep up friendship!" The Marshal thanked the Emperor, and, putting the chocolate in his pocket, returned to the table. There was a pudding representing the city of Dantzig on the table; and when it was to be cut, the Emperor turned again to the Marshal, saying—

"The pudding could not have a more agreeable shape. Attack it, monsieur le Duc! it is your conquest, so you must do the honours!"

On going home, the Marshal, Duc de Dantzig, suspecting a surprise in the little packet the Emperor had given him, immediately opened it and found three hundred thousand francs in bank notes, a present from the Emperor. After this, money and banknotes were always called 'Dantzig chocolate' in the army.

But the new Duke retained his old modest simplicity, never ashamed of his past, and always devoted to his wife, the former washerwoman.

Once his wife, now Maréchale and Duchess, received a visit from the wife of the prefect of the Seine-et-Marne. She opened a wardrobe in which were ranged in chronological order all the different costumes which she and her husband had worn since their marriage.

"Here," said the Maréchale, "is a gallery of costumes of very different qualities. We have had the curiosity to keep them all. It does us no harm to look at them all from time to time, so as not to forget them."

The union of the Duke and Duchess of Dantzic—the ex-sergeant and the ex-washerwoman—was very fruitful; fourteen children were born to them, of whom twelve were sons, but unfortunately not one survived them.

The illustrious pair now rest in quiet peace, under the chestnut trees of Père-Lachaise; this epitaph marks the grave of Mme. Lefebvre :—

ICI REPOSE

A coté de son Illustre époux
Madame la Maréchale, Duchesse de Dantzick
née a Saint Amarin
Département du Haut-Rhin
Le 2 Février, 1753
Décédée à Paris
Le 29 Décembre 1835.

Such, in her life and death, was Mme. Lefebvre, who, by the favour of M. Sardou, has become the Mme. Sans-Gêne of dramatic celebrity.

The real Mme. Sans-Gêne, as we have already said, was not Mme. Lefebvre at all, but Thérèse Figueur, who is mentioned as follows in General de Marbot's Memoirs :—

"Mme. la Maréchale Augereau, a constant invalid, lived very much in retirement, and hardly ever appeared at table or in the drawing-room; but when she did appear, far from restraining our gaiety, she encouraged it. She had two very extraordinary lady-companions. One of them, who was always called *Sans-gêne*, constantly dressed in man's clothes. She was the daughter of one of the leaders who defended Lyons against the army of the Convention in 1793. She escaped with her father; and, both disguised as soldiers, they took refuge in the ninth regiment of dragoons, where they assumed *noms de guerre*, and fought through the campaign. Mlle. Sans-Gêne who added masculine courage to a manly face and figure, was several times wounded, once at Castiglione, where her regiment formed part of Augereau's division. General Bonaparte,

who had often witnessed her deeds of valour, becoming First Consul, sent for Mlle. San-Gêne as companion to his wife. But Mlle. Sans-Gêne found the life of the Court little suited to her tastes. She left Mme. Bonaparte, who sent her to Mme. Augereau, whose secretary she became."

General de Marbot is in error as to certain details, as has been pointed out by Emile Cère, the biographer of Mme. Sans-Gêne. Thérèse Figueur's father could not have taken part in the Lyons' insurrection in 1793, as he died ten years earlier. Thérèse Figueur was only nine years old when her father died. She went to one of her uncles at Rueil, and later, at Avignon, where she served for some time in a linen-draper's shop.

When the Girondins were proscribed in 1793, Avignon revolted. Thérèse Figueur was then eighteen years old. Her uncle dressed her in an artillery-man's uniform, so that she could safely follow him, even through the campaign. The federalists of Avignon, who hoped at one time to join the troops of Lyons, were rapidly dispersed by General Carteaux.

Thérèse and her uncle were among the prisoners. Carteaux summoned them to his presence, and, with many expressions of kindness and admiration, tried to persuade them to enter the regular army. They consented, and joined a regiment of Chasseurs.

Mlle. Figueur wrote in her Reminiscences: "I had to find a *nom de guerre*. We fixed on 'Sans-Gêne,' which was proposed by Lieutenant Chastel. 'I assure you' said he, 'that when we took her prisoner, she did not hesitate to call us cowards: Elle ne se gênait pas pour nous traiter de lâches.' My papers state that my voluntary engagement in the Allobrogian legion is dated the ninth of July 1793.

"When the army of the Convention occupied Marseilles, I enjoyed great celebrity among the inhabitants. La Citoyenne Sans-Gêne, in her Chasseur's uniform, was carried in triumph through the town, amid cries of 'Vive Sans-Gêne,' on the shoulders of brave fellows whose enthusiasm was noisy and frantic, as all enthusiasms are under the sky of Provence. The procession ended in a great square, where I was addressed by several orators. I received the friendly greeting of citizen Général Doppet, and I know not how many citizens besides; there were municipal dignitaries in scarfs, presidents of sections, presidents of societies, and so on. The ceremony was brought to a close by a patriotic banquet. I should certainly have lost my reason if I had responded to a thousandth part of the toasts which were offered to me, but I contented myself with merely raising my glass to my lips. I was not then an old trooper; and besides I was never fond of drinking."

From Marseilles, Sans-Gêne proceeded to Toulon, which was being besieged by the army of the Republic. General Dugommier was very friendly to her, and she was often on service with the general Staff. One day when she was thus on service, an officer gave her an order to carry. She hurried away with it; but as the fighting had ceased for the moment, she stopped, on the way back, for some food, and then returned to the general quarters. Without looking round, the officer who had given the order took out his watch: "You could have gone in three quarters of an hour," he said; "you have been an hour and ten minutes. You are under arrest."

Sans-Gêne proceeded to the guard-house, whence she was liberated after four hours, by General Dugommier's son, who had interceded for her with the officer—Bonaparte—who put her under arrest.

Sans-Gêne was invited to the General's table, and, encouraged by the other officers to banter the future Emperor, she accused him of having punished her for a mere trifle, told him that he was ugly, and even called him '*moricaud*!'

During the siege, Sans-Gêne was wounded. After Toulon was taken, she joined the 15th regiment of dragoons, and learned her military drill thoroughly and well.

She was very fond of dancing; and on one evening danced several times in succession with the same young lady. The young lady's father, seeing the shy, quiet manners of the handsome young dragoon, who neither drank, smoked, nor swore, decided that this model soldier would make an admirable husband for his daughter. Pursuing his idea, he accused the timid cavalier of having compromised his daughter, and even lodged a complaint with the colonel of the regiment. The story ended dramatically.

Sans-Gêne then went with General Dugommier's division to the Pyrénées Orientales, where she acquitted herself valiantly in many engagements with the Spanish troops. She was one of the first to enter Figueras. A day or two later, when pursuing a group of mounted fugitives, she saw that several of them wore the uniforms of French émigrés. Anxious for the safety of her countrymen, she called to them that they would be cut to pieces if they proceeded, and pointed out a way of escape. All took advantage of her warning, except one, who levelled his carbine at her and fired.

"Full of indignation," she relates herself, "I galloped after him, and plunged my sabre into his throat,—what is called in military language the '*coup de cochon*.' I was so furious that, after he fell, I made my horse trample his body."

"Later on, on the same day, a Spanish quarter-master and his wife surrendered to me. I consoled them as well as I

could, and protected them from violence. As they were both utterly worn out, I made them mount my horse, and brought them to my General, Augereau. The citizen General complimented me. During the day my horse had fallen, and my carbine was broken by the shock; I complained of remaining unarmed. The General took one of the pistols from his own case, and presented it to me."

"Citoyenne," said he, "prends ceci et souviens-toi d'Augereau qui n'oubliera pas le petit Sans-Gêne."

"Another day, when we had to re-pass the Fluvia, I and some other dragoons came to the rescue of several wounded foot-soldiers of the 17th demi-brigade. They had got out of their depth in the middle of the river. I swam my horse in, and, seizing with both hands two poor fellows who were almost drowning, brought them through the flood. This I repeated several times, passing and re-passing the river; so that at last my horse was utterly worn out. That evening, while I was feeding him, I gave him more than twenty kisses."

This delicious story won immense popularity for 'le petit Sans-Gêne,' and an adjutant-general made her an offer of marriage. This brilliant proposal she accepted unwillingly, and appeared with the adjutant-general at the municipality—still in uniform.

"To begin with," said the functionary, in a mocking voice, "I ask the two citizens here present which of them is the bride!"

Everyone burst out laughing, including the bridegroom; but Mlle. Thérèse was so deeply offended, that she left the municipality, and broke off the match. When peace was concluded with Spain, Sans-Gêne joined the army in Italy. They wished to make her a brigadier, but she refused, saying that she had enough to do to obey, without taking the responsibility of commanding.

At Savigliano, Mlle. Figueur was seriously wounded, and returned almost dying to Sous-le-Saulnier. Soon after, however, she recovered sufficiently to proceed to Paris, where she joined the Ninth Dragoons. All the Generals vied with each other in lavishing attentions on her.

Mme. Bonaparte received her at Saint Cloud. "Mme. Bonaparte," writes Mlle. Figueur in her Memoirs, "or rather Josephine—for this was her popular name, and I like it better,—asked me to walk with her in her favourite garden.

"'How happy you are to be brave!' she said to me, 'and to fear neither horses nor cannons. But I—I am afraid of everything. It is useless for me to reason with myself; it is stronger than me. Here, in the park, the first Consul compelled me to sit in a dog-cart which he drove himself.

When I saw myself suspended in the air, I trembled and supplicated. He took a pleasure in grazing the trees; I stooped under the branches, crying out in distress. He kept the wheel at the edge of a pond; I shut my eyes, almost dying with fear. It almost cost me an illness. My dear child, how I wish I had your courage! My husband would have no right to treat me as a coward; he would allow me to follow him everywhere, and I should accompany him in all his campaigns."

Napoleon himself welcomed Sans-Gêne as warmly. "'Well Monsieur Sans-Gêne,' he asked me, 'do you still think I am as ugly as at the siege of Toulon?'"

"I blushed up to the eyes, and longed to hide under the table. Nevertheless I was able to stammer: 'No, General.' But he continued, without noticing me, to Josephine. Sais-tu qu'elle m'a appelé *moricaud*!'"

But 'Monsieur Sans-Gêne' did not long endure the constraints of St. Cloud. She next appears at General Augereau's Château de la Houssaye, as companion to his invalid wife, and moving spirit in a hundred mad pranks and practical jokes, in most of which the dragoon Sans-Gêne was far more conspicuous than Mlle. Thérèse Figueur. Once she led the company to the Curé's room, and, opening the door, as if by accident, uttered a cry of surprise and horror.

"Oh! mon Dieu," she cried to the Maréchale, in an indignant voice, "what a scandal! There is a woman in le Curé's bed! And, looking into the room, they clearly saw a recumbent form, and dishevelled curls on the pillow. There was no room for doubt.

Then followed a scene of denunciation, and contrition on the part of the unhappy Curé. At last the Magdalen was dragged forth, and the company beheld—a figure stuffed with straw, the ingenious construction of Mlle. Sans-Gêne.

One more story, as told by Mlle. Figueur herself, and the portrait of the real Sans-Gêne is complete.

"At la Houssaye, I had made the acquaintance of Marshal Bernadotte, during a fortnight's visit which he paid to la Maréchale Augereau. La Maréchale suffered more than usual; and I was several times called on to do the honours of the table and to dine tête-à-tête with the future king of Sweden. He had shown me much kindness; and at his departure had made me a present of twenty-five louis. While I was at Strassburg he was good enough to say that if I needed money for the campaign, I could draw upon M. Gille his banker there. I saw him again at Linz; he wished to keep me, and asked my colonel to allow me to join his staff. All this delighted me. Several days passed. One morning, Hilaire,

the Marshal's negro, came to say that the Marshal had sent for me. I followed him. He led me to a bedroom, where, beside one of those enormous porcelain stoves—the pride of Germany—the Marshal was finishing his toilet. He was already dressed, in full uniform, but, extremely careful of the beauty of his hands, he had taken up his nail-scissors, and was giving a final polish to his nails.

"As soon as we were alone, the Marshal said to me: 'Do you know, my dear Sans-Gêne, that I did not close my eyes all night?'

"'It is over-fatigue, Marshal,' I answered; 'The campaign has done you a great deal of harm.'

"'Oh, the reason is totally different. It is you, my little Sans-Gêne, who prevented my sleeping!'

"'The Marshal is jesting?'

"'No, really, I grew fond of you even the first day! I said nothing for a thousand reasons, but if you are frank, you will confess that you noticed it.'

"'I hung my head in silence.'

"'Listen!' he continued, after a moment; 'I need the society of a woman, of a friend, during my campaign. My wife is almost always ill, in Paris. This is no mere caprice. I will assure your fortune.'

"'While speaking, he drew me nearer to his chair, passing his arm round my neck, and, drawing my face near his, tried to kiss me on the lips. I set myself free without violence, without anger, but started, thunderstruck, overcome by a profound sense of pain. The handsome face of this man, so high in dignities, his uniform covered with embroidery, with a great medallion of Marseilles on his breast, the crimson sash, awed me at the same time that my pride was outraged by this contemptuous way of coming straight to the fact, and of treating me so lightly, although, like him, I had passed through the terrors of battle, sword in hand. A hot flush of shame mounted my forehead. I wished to speak, but could hardly utter a few words, broken by emotion:—'A married man . . . and I was so proud of your kindness . . . you forget that I am a soldier . . . and treated me like the basest of creatures! . . .'

"'I was mortified and choked by humiliation.'

Marshal Bernadotte made what amends were possible, and the next day Sans-Gêne left Linz for France, where she remained till October.

During the Peninsular War, Sans-Gêne was wounded and taken prisoner. The unlucky captives were sent from Lisbon to Portsmouth, after a stormy passage of thirty-nine days. Mlle. Figueur was quartered in Bolderwood, near

Southampton, and the real Sans-Gêne of history visited our shores in captivity, while the false Sans-Gêne of M Sardou has visited them in triumph.

In 1814, Mlle. Figueur was liberated, and returned to France. Her later history may be told in a few words. A brief meeting—the third—with Napoleon, just before Waterloo, the second abdication, and her fighting days were ended. Then peaceful days in Paris; a happy marriage—her girdle was just large enough for her husband's 'garter'; then, on his death, sad days of poverty and loneliness; an almost friendless old age in an alms-house.

Such are the two Mèsdames Sans-Gêne. Mlle. Figueur, the Sans-Gêne of history, and the admirable, grotesque washer-woman, Duchess of Dantzic, the Sans-Gêne of M. Sardou. One cannot but regret, I think, that M. Moreau allowed himself to be overpersuaded to give up his first heroine in favour of Madame Lefebvre. In the history of Mlle. Thérèse Figueur, the true Sans-Gêne, there are, it seems to me, far better materials for a real drama of life, if not perhaps such striking scenes for a brilliant stage play. Drawn by a finer hand than M Sardou's, we might have in the slight girl-dragon a picture not unworthy to be set beside the Bradamante of Ariosto, or the disguises of Imogen, of Viola, of Portia, of Rosalind.

CHARLES JOHNSTON.

ART. III.—THE EASTERN SOUDAN: ITS PAST,
PRESENT, AND FUTURE.

1. *Mahdiism and the Egyptian Súdán: being an Account of the Rise and Progress of Mahdiism, and of Subsequent Events in the Súdán to the Present Time.* By Major F. B. Wingate, D. S. O., R. A. 1891.
2. *My Mission to Abyssinia.* By Gerald H. Portal, C. B., H. B. M. Agent and Consul-General, Zanzibar. 1892.
3. *Ten Years Captivity in the Mahdi's Camp, 1882—1892, from the Original Manuscripts of Father Joseph Ohrwalder, late Priest of the Austrian Mission Station at Delen, in Kordofan.* Edited by Major F. R. Wingate, R. A.

THE territory called the Bilad as Soudán, or Country of the Blacks, by the Arabs, and Nigritia, or Negro-land, by European geographers, may be most fittingly described as the true home of the negro variety of the human race. This somewhat vague geographical term is commonly applied to a broad belt stretching across the northern part of Central Africa, from the Atlantic on the west to the Indian Ocean on the east, a length of about 2,000 miles: while its depth from north to south may be estimated as from five to seven hundred miles, lying between the fifth and eighteenth parallels of north latitude. It is for the most part a fertile and well-watered region, stretching from the barren deserts of Nubia and the Sahara on the north, to the dense forests of Equatorial Africa on the south; and it is inhabited by a population estimated at about eighty millions, the bulk of which belongs to the negro race, while the residue is either of Semitic or Hamitic stock, or a cross between them and the pure negro. The nations of Hamitic blood are the Foulaks, the Tibbus, and the Tuáriks or Berbers, who have entered the Soudan from the north, and are spread over the western parts of it: the Semitic race is represented by the Arabs, who have entered the Soudan principally from the east, and have almost entirely appropriated the Eastern Soudan, the country to which our observations will chiefly refer. These intruders have brought with them the law of Islam and the religion of Muhammad, which everywhere rapidly and easily replaces, or rather is engrafted on, the primitive fetish-worship of the negro tribes; and they also bring with them the foreign slave-trade, the abominable traffic which for centuries past has been eating the life out of the negro race, like some gnawing and spreading cancerous disease.

The ancients called the Soudán Ethiopia, or the country of the sunburnt faces, from the Greek words "*ops*," "a face" and "*aithein*," "to burn:" but Homer places the land of the "blameless Ethiopians" in the east, by the sun-rising, and locates the pygmies, or dwarfs, so recently re-discovered by Stanley, in the country which was subsequently called Ethiopia by the classic historians. Perhaps the Ethiopians of Homer were really the inhabitants of India; and the idea of their "blamelessness" may have been gathered from the race-characteristics of the mild Hindu, rather than from the childlike simplicity of the negro. On the Egyptian monuments the people dwelling to the south of Egypt are called "the miserable Kashi," and this name is probably identical with the Cush who is represented as the son of Ham by the Hebrew historian in the book of Genesis.

According to the account of the distribution of the peoples there given, the descendants of Cush seem to have peopled the countries in South-Western Asia and North-Eastern Africa now known as Irak, Oman, Hadramant, and the Eastern Soudan. The Kashi of the monuments and the Cushites of Genesis are, perhaps, identical with the present Nubian nation, a negroid race, apparently the offspring of the intermixture of Hamitic blood with a negro stock. Egyptian influence was evidently always strong in Ethiopia, and at one time something like a fusion appears to have taken place between the two nations. The Hebrew historical remains record the invasion of Palestine by Zerah the Ethiopian, and the opposition offered by Tirhakah, King of Ethiopia, to the conquests of the Assyrians. Under the successors of Alexander the Great, Greek influence succeeded to Egyptian in Ethiopia, and Grecian colonies were planted along the African shores of the Red Sea, as at Berenice, Arsinoë, Adulis, and other places. The ruins of the Greek town of Adulis cover a considerable space of ground near the modern village of Zullah, doubtless a corruption of the old Greek name, where the British army landed in 1868, on its expedition against the King of Abyssinia. The author of the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* casually mentions that Zoskalos, the King of Ethiopia, was acquainted with the Greek language. In the reign of the Emperor Augustus, we hear of Caius Petronius repelling an invasion of the Roman province of Egypt made by Candace, Queen of Ethiopia; the same whose envoy was converted by the Apostle Philip, and is supposed to have introduced the new religion into Ethiopia.

The Romans had a garrison on the Nile at Ibrim, near Korosko, not far from our present Egyptian frontier post at Wady Halfa. Cohorts recruited in Germany served under

the Imperial eagles there, whose place ten centuries later was occupied by Slavonian Bosniaks, following the Turkish horsetail standards. The Emperor Diocletian withdrew the Roman garrisons to Syene, the present As Suán ; and many Christians fled from his persecutions into Nubia and Ethiopia. In the sixth century a Nubian Christian kingdom was founded at Dongola, and it was probably from hence, or from Abyssinia, that the Ethiopian invasion of the Yemen took place in the interest of the Christians of Arabia, persecuted by the Judaized Arabs, which is commemorated in the chapter of the Koran entitled "the Elephant" (Al Fíl). All the regions of Ethiopia no doubt shared in the benefits of the eastern trade with Europe, of which the chief part in those days passed through the Red Sea, and later on enriched the Musalman monarchy of Egypt. The shipmates of Sindbad the Sailor brought his marvellous tales, along with the silks and spices of the far East, from Khanikú (Canton) and Serendib (Ceylon) to the markets of Jidda and Cosseir. The ruined cities of Mashona-land, so recently discovered, testify to the existence of colonies of a comparatively civilized race, probably Semitic, either Arab or Phœnician, in remote South-East Africa at a very early time, and give point to the suggestion that in this region may be sought the Ophir of the Scriptures. When the Portuguese navigators first doubled the Cape, they found the East Coast of Africa studded with thriving Arab towns, which carried on a considerable trade with the opposite Western Coast of India.

The immediate result of the discovery of the Cape *route* to India and China by the Portuguese, was the destruction of the trade which the Arab sailors had carried on with China and India for 2,000 years ; and, consequently, the financial ruin of the countries whose prosperity had depended upon that trade. The monarchy of the Mamelukes in Egypt did not long survive the loss of the commerce which had made Grand Cairo the capital of the East, and had identified that city with the Babylon of the Apocalypse in the imaginations of the monkish chroniclers of the Middle Ages. The thriving ports of the Red Sea littoral dwindled into squalid villages. The Turkish conquest, almost immediately following on the discovery of the Cape *route*, completed the ruin of Eastern Africa. The decline of trade and the decay of agriculture are the invariable concomitants of Turkish rule. In the forcible words of the Arab proverb, "the grass never grows in the footsteps of a Turk." The establishment of Islam as the dominant religion of the Eastern Soudan, completed the ruin of the country. Ever since the time of Muhammad, the Arabs had been

crossing the Red Sea in ever-increasing numbers, and gradually spreading over the adjacent shores of Africa, bringing with them the laws and the institutions of Islam, and infusing their own blood into the negro tribes through inter-marriages. The Turkish conquest finally destroyed the last remains of the Christian kingdom of Dongola, which had endured for more than seven hundred years, and had survived the destruction of the Roman rule and the Christian religion in Egypt by the Arabs : and the Christianity of Eastern Africa found its last refuge in the mountains of Abyssinia. The Turks for a time pushed their conquest with vigour, established Pashaliks, and stationed large garrisons at Suakin and Massowah, attempted the conquest of the Abyssinian highlands, and sent fleets from Suez through the Straits of Babelmandeb to fight the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean. For a time they occupied Aden, where the name of "the Turkish wall" still bears witness of their rule : and Ottoman armaments attacked the Portuguese settlements on the East Coast of Africa, and the West Coast of India. But they were unsuccessful : and the speedy decline of their power led to the withdrawal of their advanced posts in Africa. They abandoned Nubia ; and Assuan, the old Roman frontier station, became the southernmost frontier post of the Turkish Empire for the next three hundred years.

Native Musalman States, ruled by a hybrid Arab and negro race, were established after the withdrawal of the Turks at Dongola and Sennaar, and were, perhaps, already in existence in Darfur and Kordofan. In these kingdoms the Arabs continued to live, as they do to this day, as pastoral nomads : the negroes were tillers of the soil, and either they remained pagans, or their native fetish worship was only covered by a thin veneer of Semitic ceremonialism. M. Poncet, a French physician and diplomatist, who made his way from Egypt overland to Abyssinia in A. D. 1700, found the ruins of many Christian churches and monasteries still standing in Dongola.

The kingdom of Sennaar was for long the most powerful of all these negroid States, and the others were generally tributary to it. The traveller Bruce passed through it, on his return from discovering the sources of the Blue Nile in Abyssinia, in 1772, and has left a minute description of it in his travels, and of the formidable bodyguard kept up by the king—a force of cavalry two thousand strong, all negroes and pagans. He visited one of their barracks near Sennaar, where four hundred men were lodged, their horses picketed in rows outside, fine animals, much larger than the Arab horses, and quite equal to the weight of their heavily-armed and stalwart riders. On the wall at the head of each

man's sleeping-place were suspended, from pegs, a copper helmet without crest or plume ; a shirt of chain-mail, with an antelope-skin jerkin, like chamois leather, to be worn under it, and to keep the rust from it when hanging up ; a broadsword in a red leather scabbard, and a pair of leather gloves, with all the fingers in one, like a hedger's glove in England. But there was not a musket in the whole country ; and the people were as much amazed at, and as much afraid of fire arms as Robinson Crusoe's savages. Bruce heard at Shendy that a queen named Hendaki once governed all that country, and thought the story might refer to Queen Candace. He heard in Sennaar of the Bahr-el-Abiad, the White River which joins the Blue Nile at Khartoum, and mentions it as the probable cause of Diodorus Siculus's assertion, that the Nile takes its rise from large lakes in Central Africa : but he was satisfied himself that he had found the true sources of the Nile in those of the Blue River. Others, however, were not so easily satisfied : and in 1799 an Englishman named Browne determined to explore the Bahr-el-Abiad, which he rightly surmised to be the true Nile. He started with a caravan from Egypt and succeeded in reaching Dárfúr, but was unable to prosecute his journey further on account of the dangers of the almost unknown country to the south. He heard of the "Gnum-gnum" cannibals in that direction ; evidently the Niam-niam tribe afterwards discovered by Baker and Stanley. He found that the people of Dárfúr knew nothing of their own history ; their most famous king was called Muhammad Turáb, Browne says, from his habit of rolling in the dust (turáb) when he was a child : but, as the word is often used in India as a proper name in conjunction with Ali and Muhammad, we imagine its real signification to have been that the king considered himself as the dust under the feet of the Prophet. A curious instance of the survival of an epithet occurs in Browne's narrative : On an ancient monument near Jebel Berkal, an inscription has been discovered to a king of Ethiopia in which his mother is apostrophised as the "cow that has borne the Bull" : and the full titles of the king of Dárfúr in Browne's time were "The Buffalo, offspring of a Buffalo, Bull of Bulls, Elephant of superior strength, the great Sultan, Abdur Ruhmán ar Rashíd."

This mighty monarch sent an embassy to the Sultan of Turkey bearing a tribute of three male and three female negro slaves, carefully selected out of the whole slave population for their strength and good looks. The Sultan confessed to never having heard of Dárfúr before, but he sent in reply the usual Turkish presents of a sabre, a robe of honour, and a diamond ring.

The opening of Egypt to European civilization by the astute Muhammad Ali had a decisive effect on the fortunes of the Soudanese kingdoms. The Pasha had no sooner possessed himself of an army on a European model, than he proceeded to use it to the detriment of his neighbours : and he got rid of his mutinous Turkish soldiery who declined to be re-modelled, by sending them to conquer or die in the Soudan. Most of them perished, with his son Ismail Pasha, at Shendy, surprised and massacred at midnight amidst the flames of their burning camp by Mek Nimr (the Leopard King) and his Arabs. The Soudanese cannot pronounce the letter L., and clip the Arabic words in which it occurs : hence Melek (king) becomes Mek, and Walad (son) becomes Wad, as in the name of Wad Nejumi, "the Son of the Astrologer," the gallant chief who fell at the head of the ill-fated Dervish Army which was repulsed from the frontiers of Egypt a few years ago.

But Muhammad Ali persevered, and the Arabs and negroes, with nothing but spears and swords, could not stand against the cannon and firearms of the Egyptians : in a short time the new comers had overrun the whole country southwards to Khartoum, and westward to the borders of Abyssinia.

The first opening of Africa to European adventure was decidedly an unlucky event for the negro race. On the West Coast the slave-trade organised to supply the labour of the American colonies, drained the Soudan of its population as effectually as the raids made by the Arabs on the East Coast to maintain the domestic institutions of Islam. But, up to the beginning of the present century and well on into it, the negro slaves were obtained by the Arab dealers in human flesh mostly by purchase from the negroes themselves, as they were obtained by the English and Portuguese traders on the Slave Coast of Guinea. But now Egypt was open to European commerce, and so were all the ports of Northern Africa, after the practice of piracy by the Barbary States had been suppressed by Lord Exmouth ; and the consequence was that the country was soon filled with cheap fire-arms of European make, for which there was an enormous demand. Hitherto the Arab had been afraid of the negro, who was as brave and as well-armed as himself ; now, armed with his death-dealing gun, he hunted the negro as his human prey. It was the great ambition of every Arab ragamuffin in the bazaars of Tunis and Tripoli to beg, borrow, or steal the wherewithal to buy a gun, to enable him to join a caravan of slave-hunters starting for the shores of Lake Chad. In a few years the Soudan was devastated throughout its length and breadth. Up to this time the negro tribes had led

a comparatively happy and tolerably peaceful existence, enjoying comfort and plenty according to their limited ideas ; now they lived in a state of perpetual panic and incessant internecine warfare. The negroid Muslem kingdoms of Bornu, Wadai, and others, urged on by their Arab auxiliaries, waged continual war with the pagans on their borders, and spoiled the whole Soudán with fire and sword, on the pretence of propagating the true faith, the profession of which conferred upon them a prescriptive right over the persons and the property of all unbelievers.

Domestic and intertribal slavery had always existed in Africa, but this caused comparatively little misery to the mass of the population, compared with the European slave-trade on the West Coast, which necessitated the carrying on of wars to procure the immense number of slaves required, and hence led to the devastation and depopulation of the country. The Eastern slave-trade with Africa had also been carried on from time immemorial ; but not till the Arabs became easily possessed of fire-arms did it become a serious scourge to the country. Many causes were in operation also to mitigate it in former times. All Asia and a great part of Europe were available to supply the demand for slaves, created by the harem and domestic system of the oriental world. The slave-markets of Constantinople and Cairo were kept well filled by the cruises of the Barbary Corsairs and the raids of the Crim Tartars. In the seventeenth century one hundred thousand women and children were carried off captive from their homes in Hungary and Poland by a Turkish army as the spoil of a single campaign. Three thousand European slaves were liberated in the Barbary regencies by Lord Exmouth's fleet within the present century. But the collapse of the Muhammadan power led to the successive closing of all these markets for human flesh, and at last the Soudan remained as the sole source for the supply of recruits to the domestic institution of Islam. The capture of Zanzibar from the Portuguese by the Arabs of Muscat, and the conquest of the Eastern Soudán by the Egyptian flag, combined with the introduction of cheap fire-arms into Africa to enormously extend and amplify the Eastern slave-trade. The English cruisers have checked, if they have not altogether stopped, the trade by sea from the ports of East Africa ; but the traffic has only been directed into other channels, and it would require an army of police and a fleet of gunboats to stop the smuggling of slaves across the narrow Red Sea, which a *dhori* with a favouring wind can cross between sunset and sunrise.

The Government of the Khedive, yielding to the pressure of European philanthropy exercised through diplomacy, prohibited slavery and the slave-trade in Egypt, with much the same

effect as the laws against betting and gambling in England have on English turf transactions.

The Khedive Ismail officially denounced slavery, while every servant in his own household was a slave. It is impossible for European Christians and Asiatic Mussalmans to understand, or to appreciate, each other's motives and attitude on this subject. The Anti-Slavery Society is regarded in Egypt as the Anti-Vaccination Society is in England. It is impossible for an Englishman and an Egyptian to occupy the same platform in this matter of slavery. The fact that the real rulers of Egypt for a thousand years, the members of the Military Corporation of Mamelukes, were everyone of them purchased slaves, is but a slight indication of the impassable gulf between Eastern and Western ideas on this subject.

Hence, in spite of commercial treaties and anti-slavery proclamations, the net result of the extension of Egyptian influence in the Soudán was an immense increase in the area of the operations of the slave-traders. The result of expeditions undertaken with the ostensible purpose of putting down the slave-trade was simply to extend it.

When Sir Samuel Baker visited the Soudán, he found the slave-hunting Turks and Arabs flying the Egyptian flag and wearing the Egyptian uniform. In 1870 he was appointed by the Khedive to command an expedition, to carry the Egyptian flag from Khartúm to the equator. The objects of this expedition were, in the words of his successor Gordon, "the subjugation of the countries south of Gondokoro, the suppression of the slave-trade, the introduction of a system of regular communication, and the opening up of the navigation of the great lakes of the equator. Nothing was really done towards the accomplishment of these objects. . . . Baker's expedition was a mere conquest on paper." A few military posts, at vast distances apart, represented Egyptian rule in Equatorial Africa. In 1874 Colonel Gordon was appointed Governor-General of the Egyptian Soudán. He set himself earnestly and resolutely to suppress the abominable traffic, and with so much success as to make the name of the Egyptian Government odious to every slave-trader and slave-holder in the country, *i. e.* to every man of rank, wealth, and influence ; in short, to the whole free population. "Gordon set the house on fire, and all his successors could do was to watch the flames."

That the prohibition of the trade had been urged on the Khedive by Christians and Europeans, and that the task of its suppression was entrusted to the hands of these infidels, was in itself enough to excite the resentment of the fanatical Arabs : and their discontent was aggravated by the unheard-of theories put forward by Gordon and his European Lieutenants, that

pagans were entitled to the same treatment and consideration as true believers.

After Gordon had resigned his post, the prevailing discontent was increased by the rapacity and corruption inherent in the Turkish system of government, which had only been in abeyance under his rule, and which burst forth with renewed vigour under his successors.

The good old rule and simple plan of revenue collection in the Turkish Empire is for every official to squeeze as much as he can out of those below him, and to disgorge as little as possible to those above him. Applied to this system, the machinery of European administration introduced into the Soudán, only aggravated the misery of the people.

The decline of the power and prosperity of Islam has, for some time past, clearly indicated to the Moslem mind the approaching end of the Dispensation : and it happened that in 1882, the end of the thirteenth century of the Muhammadan era, gave rise to predictions and expectations of a final catastrophe. These expectations had a great share in the revolutionary movement headed by Arabi Pasha in Egypt, and in the appearance of a Mahdi, or Musalman Messiah in the Soudán, with the mission of first restoring the True Faith to its pristine purity, and then converting the unbelieving world to it. It is as difficult to draw the line between enthusiasm and imposture in the case of the Mahdi Muhammad Ahmad, as in the case of other Semitic prophets ; whether he believed in himself, or not, when he stood forth announcing a divine message to the people—" Thus saith the Lord," &c. The people at all events believed in him ; and his mission was duly attested by signs and miracles. Flames of fire played round the spearheads of his standards in the night, and the drums of the heavenly host who accompanied him were heard beating in the air. He preached war to the knife against the Turks, the head and front of whose offending was that they had adopted the dress and manners of the Franks, and had thrust the sacred law given by God to Islam, eternal, immutable, from their judgment seat, replacing it by a code borrowed from Christians, of man's devising, a mere expression of poor, imperfect, human wisdom.

Interest and fanaticism combined to unite all the Arab inhabitants of the Soudán under the Mahdi's banner, and the isolated Egyptian garrisons fell by famine or treachery, one after another. An army of fifteen thousand Egyptians under an English officer, Hicks Pasha, was despatched to reconquer the Soudán, was circumvented and cut off by the Mahdi, and destroyed to a man.

The defeat of this regular army with its rifles and artillery, by half-naked Arabs, armed only with sword and spear, was

the greatest miracle that Muhammad Ahmad had yet accomplished, and the most convincing proof of his divine mission. It clearly indicated the hand of the Lord. All the Soudán was now at his mercy : only the capital Khartúm still held out for the Khedive.

The English were now the real masters of Egypt, and the English Cabinet shrank from the toil and cost of reconquering the Soudán.

Mr. Gladstone described the Soudánese as a people rightly struggling to be free ; but when he said this, he probably did not know that the Mahdi held out to his followers the hope of enslaving everybody else. Instead of sending an army to save Khartúm, Mr. Gladstone sent Gordon there once more. Gordon did all that man could do, but he could not do the work of an army. Perhaps a single battalion of British soldiers might have saved Gordon and Khartúm. When the siege had lasted a year, and the state of the town was desperate, a British army was despatched down the Nile too late to save it. Khartúm was taken, Gordon was killed, and the British army was withdrawn after some barren victories over the Arabs. The whole Eastern Soudán now owned the rule of the Mahdi and obeyed the law of Islam. The slave trade was re-established in full vigour ; and preparations were made for carrying the holy war into all the countries around. The Mahdi did not long survive his triumph ; his own success conquered him : he was not proof against the temptations of wealth and luxury, the worldly pleasures which, when a poor dervish, he had denounced so eloquently. He was carried off by an attack of small-pox, caught amid the promiscuous embraces of his numerous harem.

He was succeeded, after the precedent of the Prophet Muhammad, by his lieutenant, or Khalifa, Abdulla Taashi, of the Baggura or cattle-owning Arabs, who have now, through this elevation of their clansman, become the ruling caste in the Eastern Soudán. The Khalifa seems to be a clever and ambitious man, and is reputed to have been the prime mover in the late Mahdi's political and military operations, and the chief cause of their success. He may, perhaps, prove the founder of a new dynasty and of a native kingdom in the Soudan, like that of Sennaar in past times : but the fanaticism which the new State has inherited from its origin, makes it at present so dangerous to all its neighbours, that its very existence is a continual menace to their peace, and a temptation to them, by opposing, to end it. It is also the very stronghold and support of the slave-trade which it has resuscitated, and which it is the great object of the civilised nations of Europe, and especially of England, to annihilate. The first care of the

Mahdi and of his successor was to re-open the African slave-trade with Asia by way of Arabia ; and for this purpose the slave-dealing leader, Osman Digma, was despatched to capture the port of Suákin, and so open a way for the easy export of slaves. Many of the Egyptian posts on the Red Sea littoral were taken : an Egyptian army despatched to the relief of Suakin was annihilated, and a succession of fierce battles was fought with English troops sent for the same purpose. The attempt was for years continually renewed, and torrents of gallant Arab blood have dyed the sands round Suákin without avail ; for, even were the town taken and the coveted port acquired, it would of course be useless for the purpose for which the Arabs require it, as long as the English gunboats have the command of the sea. Meanwhile the export of slaves goes on pretty briskly : the caravans being marched to some unfrequented part of the coast, where they are awaited by sailing craft which carry them, under cover of the night, into Arabia. Public slave-markets have been re-opened in Khartúm, and the other principal towns in the Soudán, and the Arab and Nubian slave-raiding expeditions harry the negro tribes as far as the equator.

Stanley rescued Amin Pasha, and carried him off to the coast, just in time to save him from sharing the fate of Lupton Bey and Slatin Bey, who were seized in their governments by the Mahdi's men, and carried as prisoners to Khartúm. After Amin's escape, the dervishes under the Amir Karamalla entered the Equatorial Province and destroyed the last vestige of Egyptian rule in the Eastern Soudán. Some of the Soudánese soldiers, who had formed the Egyptian garrison of the province, escaped with Amin and Stanley : others fled later before Karamalla's advance and reached Uganda, where they have now taken service under the English.

But the declared policy of the dervishes, * as the Mahdi's followers began to be called, was nothing less than the conversion of the whole world to the faith of Islam, and their mission was to commence with the expulsion of the Europeans and Europeanised Turks from the land of Egypt, which represents the civilized world to the eyes of the Arab of the desert. To the European, the Turk presents the embodiment of

* The word Dervish means originally a poor man, and secondarily a religious mendicant, a Musalman travesty of the begging friars of Mediæval Christendom. Monasticism was condemned by the Prophet Muhammad, who said : "La Rahibaniyat fi'l Islámiya" : "there is no monkery in Islam : " but the Turanian nations, on their conversion to the true faith, brought their old Buddhist monastic institutions along with them. The fighting Dervishes of the Soudán may be compared with the "Sea-beggars" of Holland and Zeeland, who wore crescents in their caps, as a sign that they would rather serve the Turk than the Pope.

Asiatic bigotry and barbarism ; to the Arab, he appears as the type of the godless civilization of the Franks. We look at the qualities of his mind inherited from his Mongolian ancestors. The simple son of the desert, who judges only by externals, looks at his frock-coat and patent leather boots. But in truth it needs only a flimsy excuse to inflame the natural race-hatred between the Semitic Arab and the Mongolian Turk, which shows itself in a thousand ways in all the lands where the latter has so long lorded it over the former, his stout arm and his keen sword making up for the dulness of his wits and the scantiness of his numbers. The rule of the Turk has been ever solely and simply that of brute force ; and he still rules over almost all the lands of Islam at this day.

The first expedition sent by the Khalifa for the conquest of Egypt followed up the retirement of Lord Wolsely's army from Dongola, after its unsuccessful attempt to rescue Gordon and relieve Khartúm. The Dervish force was small, and was easily repulsed by the English from the frontiers of Egypt, and driven back into the Nubian desert : The next attempt was made in 1889, when an army of chosen warriors, under the command of Wad Nejúmi (the astrologer's son), one of the bravest and most fanatical, as well as the most successful of the Mahdist generals, was despatched from Khartúm, burning with high hope and blessed with prophecies of success by the Khalifa. They carried their wives and children, and their simple goods and chattels with them, to settle in the land which the Lord should give unto them. They crossed the Nubian desert, but when their toilsome march approached the frontiers of the promised land, the English gunboats on the Nile prevented their access to the water, and they began to suffer fearfully from thirst. Bearing up bravely against their accumulating hardships, they continued to advance, their ranks daily thinned by death and desertion ; and Wad Nejúmi replied to the overtures of the English Commander, who pointed out to him the hopelessness of contending against overwhelming force, that Providence was not on the side of the strongest battalions, but that God would give the victory to whom He pleased. In the battle that followed the Dervish army was annihilated, and Wad Nejúmi died the death of a hero, and in his people's estimation, of a martyr.

To the east of the new Musalman state in the Soudán, and overlooking its plains from a rugged mountain eyrie, lay the Christian kingdom of Abyssinia. Never has the influence of the physical configuration of a country on the character and fortunes of its inhabitants been more conspicuously illustrated than in this Switzerland of Africa, which, Christianised soon after the death of the Christ, has remained to this day a

Christian oasis in the Islamite desert around it, simply because its rugged mountain fastnesses repelled the Turks and Arabs who overran without difficulty all the surrounding plains.

The Turks gained the flat strips of coast between the mountains of Tigré and the Red Sea, and established a Pasha at the sea-port of Massowah, from whence they frequently attempted the conquest of Abyssinia. But all their efforts were frustrated by the difficulty of the country, the courage of the Christians, and the opportune arrival of the Portuguese upon the scene, who brought with them fire-arms to oppose to those of the Turks. The discovery of the existence of a Christian kingdom in the heart of Africa revived the legends of Prester John, and promised a valuable ally to European enterprise in the new-found Eastern World. Priests and soldiers, and arms and ammunition were despatched from Lisbon and Goa to the Abyssinian coast, and were welcomed with open arms and willing hands by the natives. But, as happened elsewhere, all the effect of Portuguese arms and diplomacy was neutralised by the insensate bigotry of the Jesuits, who subordinated every other question to their scheme for subjugating the Christianity of Abyssinia to the spiritual dominion of Rome.

The attachment of the Abyssinians to their ancient ritual was proportioned to their ignorance ; their indignation at Romish usurpation overcame their gratitude for their deliverance from Turkish invasion, and the Portuguese missions were expelled from the country, and for two hundred years more Abyssinia remained a sealed country to Europeans. The French physician, Poncet, visited it on a secret mission from *Le Grand Monarque*, in pursuance of one of that king's magnificent Utopian schemes, and brought back a report of the wealth and power of the Christian kingdom, dictated more by a desire to enhance the importance of his own mission than by a regard for truth. He was accompanied by a missionary priest, Father Brevedent, whose proceedings might afford us some clue to the ill-success of the Catholic Missions in Ethiopia. In the kingdom of Sennaar a sick Musalman child was brought to M. Poncet for treatment. In his narrative he says: "As the child was so ill that I had scarce any hopes of her recovery, Father Brevedent baptized her secretly, upon pretence of giving her a medicine ; and the child was so fortunate as to die, after having been received into Christ's kingdom. Father Brevedent was so overjoyed at having opened the gates of heaven to this babe, that he assured me, with such transports as words could never express, that, had he performed but this single act in his lifetime, he should have thought himself amply rewarded for all the fatigues and trials he had undergone during this journey." One hundred years later Bruce revived European interest in

Abyssinia by his journey to discover the sources of the Nile ; and in our own generation the country was traversed by an English expedition, sent from India, to release Englishmen held in captivity by King Theodore, who had adopted this Irish method of inducing the English nation to join him in a crusade against the Turks. When the Khedive Ismail sent Baker and Gordon to conquer the Soudán, he also renewed the Turkish attempts to conquer Abyssinia ; but the Egyptian armies, in spite of their superior armament and discipline, and the direction of their operations by European officers, were repeatedly routed with great slaughter by the Abyssinians under King John. This monarch had gained the throne after the death of King Theodore, principally by the aid of the arms and stores which had been given to him by the English when they evacuated the country : and he set a high value on their friendship and good opinion. When the Mahdist revolt broke out in the Soudán, the English sent an embassy to King John and persuaded him to give the Egyptian garrisons on the frontiers of Abyssinia safe conduct to Massowah, their stores and arms and equipments being handed over to the Abyssinians along with the stations which they vacated : and the king was well pleased with the bargain. He hoped, through the good offices of his friends, the English, to obtain possession also of Massowah, the natural port and only outlet of Abyssinia on the side of the sea. The possession of the coast by the Turks had cut off Christian Abyssinia from all intercourse with the rest of Christendom, and had kept her people in a state of barbarism and savagery no way superior to that of the Muslim nations around them. To the philanthropist who yearned for the civilization of Africa, here was a door for the introduction of knowledge and culture into the dark continent. As Christians, the Abyssinians were capable of the civilization which no Musalman nation has ever attained to, or is ever likely to attain. Here, then, was a chance for English diplomacy to confer lasting benefit on Abyssinia and on Africa in general. England had, of course, no more legal right to dispose of Massowah than she had to occupy Egypt : but, as the *de facto* ruler of the latter country, she might have exercised the natural right to restore to the Abyssinian nation its long-lost sea-port, and its only door of communication with the outside world. But, instead of handing Massowah over to Abyssinia, England gave it away to Italy !

Our Government wanted the support of Italy in their Egyptian policy, and they thus purchased it by the cession of territory that did not belong to them. It belonged naturally to Abyssinia, and actually to Egypt.

Italy wanted a colony to receive her surplus population

which now overflows into the French provinces of Tunis and Algiers, or emigrates to the South American Republics. Tripoli lies convenient, and its climate is not insupportable to the native of Southern Europe: but it belongs to Turkey, and its occupation by Italy would have aroused the jealousy of France. The tropical climate of Massowah is totally unsuited to European residents, and the long rule of the Turks had effectually killed whatever commerce it ever possessed. But the Italians would not look their gift horse in the mouth, and hastened to take possession of the island, and to occupy the adjacent territories on the mainland.

King John was furious when he heard that Massowah had been given to the Italians. He even addressed messages to the Mahdi, offering to unite with him against the Europeans, who were the common enemies of all Africans, and in whose faith and friendships no trust could be reposed. But it is conjectured that these overtures might only have been intended to throw the Dervishes off their guard and lull them into a false sense of security, and that the bearers of them were directed to act as spies. The attention of the fanatics had of course soon been drawn to the Christian kingdom at their doors. Immediately after the fall of Khartúm, a large Dervish army under Wad Arbáb was despatched to the invasion of Abyssinia. A great battle was fought at Galabat, in which the Arabs were routed and Wad Arbáb was killed. The Khalifa sent a larger army to avenge this defeat, under the command of his best and most trusted general, Abu Angar; who had, by his general talents and special aptitude for war, risen from the lowest of slaves to be the greatest of chiefs. Unfortunately at this time King John and the bulk of his army and best generals had proceeded against the Italians at Massowah, and the troops he left behind him were beaten by Abu Angar, who invaded Abyssinia, ravaged the country, and sacked Gondar the capital, burning all the churches, and carrying off thousands of Abyssinian women and children into slavery.

King John could achieve nothing against the Italians: his General Ras Abula surprised and destroyed two Italian companies which had ventured into the open, but the Italian defences were much too strong to be attempted by any number of Abyssinians; and after wasting his time before them, the king hurried back, too late, to save his capital or to avenge its destruction on Abu Angar, who had returned to Galabat loaded with booty. He died of illness soon afterwards, and his successor Zeki Tumul was attacked by the whole Abyssinian army, led by King John in person, in his camp at Galabat. The numbers and fury of the assailants overcame the desperate resistance of the defenders: the *Zariba* was penetrated, the

town set on fire, and the Dervish Army was almost annihilated, when King John was killed by a random bullet in the moment of victory, which was thus snatched from the grasp of the Abyssinians. Their army immediately broke up, every band making its way towards their own home. The news was carried to the surviving Dervishes by Arab women who escaped from their captors in the confusion following on the king's death ; and, sallying out, Zeki Tumul and his men fell on the rear of the retreating Christians, inflicted great loss on them, and captured the king's body. His head was cut off and sent to the Khalifa, along with the letters from the Queen of England urging the king to make peace with the Italians, which were found by the Dervishes among the royal baggage. But the Arabs had suffered too heavily to take advantage of the anarchy which followed on the king's death, and their attention has now been distracted from that country by the advance of the Italians to Kassala. After King John's death, Menelek, prince of Shoa, declared himself the vassal of Italy, and with the aid of Italian money and munitions of war, has made himself master of most parts of Abyssinia.

The Italians meanwhile gradually pushed westwards, extending their dominions inland from Massowah along the slopes of the mountains which form the northern boundary of Abyssinia. They raised and disciplined bodies of native troops, built forts, and established a simple system of administration suitable to the ideas and needs of the nomadic tribes who inhabited the country. They also strove, and with partial success, to open up a trade with the Soudán ; but this trade was continually checked by the raids of the Dervishes, whose bands, in 1885, plundered the country to within a few miles of Massowah. As the Italians advanced still further into the country, the conflicts between their troops and the Mahdists became more frequent, and the Italians, being always victorious, occupied Keren, and pushed the Dervishes back upon Kassala. At last, after the defeat and death of King John, the Khalifa's nephew, Amir Ahmad Ali, who had succeeded Zeki Tumul in the command of the Dervishes on the Abyssinian frontier, led a great host to attack the Italians at their frontier post of Agordat. The defenders came boldly out to meet him in the plain, and, though the Italians were far inferior in numbers, they gained a brilliant victory. Ahmad Ali, who appeared at the head of his army clad in glittering chain armour, was killed by a case-shot ; all the other Amirs were killed or wounded ; most of the Dervish banners were captured by the Italians, and the routed army fled in the greatest confusion to Kassala. The Italians, having been re-inforced, followed them up, again defeated them, and gained

possession of Kassala. The Khalifa has assembled all his forces to attempt to re-take it, but they appear, from the latest advices, to be in no great hurry to try conclusions again with the Italians.

The object of the Italians in thus penetrating the interior of the Soudán is commerce, not conquest. They would be better pleased to trade with the Dervishes than to fight them; and indeed the old trade of Massowah with the interior, which was interrupted by the Mahdi's rebellion against the Egyptian Government, has been several times re-opened under the Italians, but as often closed again by the hostility of the Dervishes. All modern wars are wars for a market; and as commerce lured the English forward, against the will of their rulers, to empire in India, so she may now guide the arms of Italy to conquest at Khartúm and on the banks of the Nile.

But the progress made by the Italians, and their claim to suzerainty over Abyssinia, excited the jealousy of Ras Mankasha, or Mangascia, the Christian ruler of Tigre. He foolishly drew upon himself their anger and the weight of their arms; and the Italian steel was reddened no longer with Moslem blood, but with gallant Christian gore. General Baratieri invaded Tigre, captured Adowa, the capital of Ras Mangascia, and routed and destroyed his army. It is said that the Ras was secretly stirred up against the Italians by the Emperor Menelek, who repents him of his acknowledgment of a foreign suzerainty which is intensely galling to the national and patriotic pride of the Abyssinians; and in this feeling the Emperor is encouraged by French emissaries from the settlement of Obock on the neighbouring shores of the Red Sea. These disinterested friends, with the amiable object of putting a spoke in the Italian wheel, expatiate on the strength of France and the weakness of Italy, and try to persuade the untutored mind of the Abyssinian Emperor that "Codlin is the friend, and not Short." Whether their machinations have been successful, remains to be seen: it appears, however, as if the former friendly relations of Menelek with the Italian Government had been interrupted.

The Emperor has of late been chiefly occupied, as was natural, with the countries to the south of Abyssinia, in the vicinity of his own principality of Shoa. Instead of campaigning against the Dervishes, he has employed all the force of Abyssinia against the Musalman Gallas in the south, and has quite broken their power, slaying hundreds of them, carrying off thousands of women and children into Christian slavery, and forcing many of the men to renounce Islamism. He has occupied Harrar, lately one of the strongholds of Islam, and has turned its mosques into Christian Churches. A junction

between the forces of the Abyssinians and Italians would probably soon result in the destruction of the Dervish power, and the downfall of militant Islam in East Africa.

The Eastern Soudán at this moment presents a curious panorama of contrasting social and political systems, and of varying phases of civilization, as developed by the different races of mankind, from the primitive village communities of the agricultural Dinka and Shillook Negro tribes along the banks of the White Nile, to the comparatively highly organized European system of administration introduced by the Italians into their colony of Erythrea.

The late lamented Mr. Gerald Portal wrote of the work accomplished by the Italians in East Africa, that "a good deal of progress has been made in the work of civilization and colonization. A large tract of country running straight inland from Massowah has been declared an Italian Crown Colony, and is now known, in Italy at least, as the Colony of Erythrea. Massowah itself, which, under the successive rule of the Turks and Egyptians, consisted of a miserable collection of wooden huts and mud hovels, impregnated with filth and disease, a fitting harbour of refuge for all the scum of the Soudan, is now a well-built, clean, and well-organized village, where poverty is scarce, and crime almost unknown. From Massowah a railway now runs past Monkullu to Satrali, and then on to Ailet and towards Keren; and all through this district any old woman with her umbrella could now travel with greater confidence and safety than would have been possible for a party of a hundred well-armed men, when we traversed this road, three years ago."

Standing opposed to this modern European system is the old Semitic ideal Theocracy; the Dervish Commonwealth, governed by the decrees of Allah as revealed in the past to His Prophets, and in the present through dreams and visions to His chosen instruments. Its policy is in accordance with the immemorial character of the sons of Ishmael who are its real rulers, "his hand against every man, and every man's hand against him." Agriculture and commerce are neglected; the only trade that flourishes is the slave-trade; nearly the whole male population are under arms, employed in ceaseless raids on all the countries round, from which they return with the slaves and booty from which the revenues of the state are derived. The Dervish system has spread among the Negro kingdoms to the westward, and wars and fightings have been the order of the day, as far as the shores of Lake Chad. These countries have hitherto been under the influence of the powerful sect of the Senusiya, a Musalman confraternity founded after the French conquest of Algiers, with the same object as

the Mahdist movement, that of resisting to the death the advance of European manners and ideas.

A Senusiya teacher in Kordofan, nick-named Abu Gemaiza, (the Father of the Acacia tree), from his habit of addressing the crowds of his disciples from under the shade of a spreading Acacia tree, gave himself out to be an inspired prophet, denounced the Mahdi and the Khalifa Abdulla as impostors, and raised a formidable rebellion against their authority: but the small-pox carried him off, too, in the hour of his triumph, and the movement collapsed with his death.

All these countries are now as regularly ruined as by the exactions of the Egyptian tax-gatherers, and the last state of the Eastern Soudán is worse than the first.

Egypt represents yet another type, that of the semi-civilized Muhammadan State, in which a thin veneer of European polish covers and conceals the barbarous condition of the rulers, and hopelessly confuses the moral sense of their subjects. Egypt is a striking illustration of the proverbial folly of putting new wine into old bottles. The rottenness of its political condition is, however, alleviated by the administration of the country by English officials, and of the army by British officers.

The future of the Soudán must soon be decided. The militant Dervish State is hemmed in by its mortal enemies; the English in Uganda to the south, and in Egypt on the north, the Italians and the Abyssinians on the west. As long as it still continues to exist, and as long as Tripoli is in the hands of the Turks, the slave-trade, with all its attendant horrors, will continue to devour Africa. At present it seems that we must look to the Italians to end this state of things, and that their tri-coloured flag is destined to float over the Eastern Soudán, as that of France, in the Western Soudán, already floats over Timbuktu. But England, from her position in Egypt and in Uganda, must also have much to say to the regeneration of Africa. For centuries past Egypt has been the funnel through which the false science and false morality of the religion of the False Prophet have been poured into Africa, till they have inundated the whole northern half of the Dark Continent. The mischief will take long to repair, but it is not irreparable. It is from Egypt now that the principles of true knowledge and real freedom may be disseminated by English hands. The Greek culture, which penetrated to Ethiopia two thousand years ago, was crushed under a mass of Semitic barbarism. It is to be hoped and expected that the modern civilization of the western nations, now introduced by the English and Italians, may have a more enduring effect. But the first step towards the amelioration of the lot of the dwellers

in the Eastern Soudán must be the destruction of the modern edition of the Arab Khalifate at Khartúm. There will never be wanting wild beasts to ravage Africa, as long as the thickets which harbour them are not cut down.

F. H. TYRRELL,
Lieut.-General.

ART. IV.—RECOLLECTIONS OF AN INDIAN CIVILIAN.

BY

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District and Session Judge, N. W. P., and now Asst. Examiner
for H. M.'s Civil Service Commissioners.

Quem tu, Melpomene, semel
Nascentem placido lumine videris
Illum non labor Isthmius
Clarabit pugilem.— Horace IV. Carm. iii.

["The man whom the Muses have smiled on at birth
May never illumine the Bench or the Bar,
Gather K. C. B. honour for statesmanly worth,
Or be thanked in the Senate for exploit of war.]

PREFATORY.

Have you ever, in a photographic studio, chanced upon a box of faded "negatives"? They seem dull and faint; but if you look at them earnestly, you find that they are not all blank, but harbour lines and shadows from which you gradually make out, in one a landscape, in another a building, in a third a face—loved once, now lost—framed in the forgotten fashion of a bye-gone style of hair and dress.

These pages are like that: nothing clear or vivid, little that would be generally interesting, but things on which one loves to look at odd times. I do not call them "Reminiscences," for the word has been blunted by careless use. But that is what they are, if you will take the word in its original French accuracy and edge—"rappel d'un souvenir à peu près effacé; acte par lequel nous cherchons à ressaisir un souvenir incomplet."* The act of seeking an incomplete recollection is the act which I have performed here, rather than that of recording actual recollections, which some—abler than myself—have undertaken and will undertake again.

The result of my efforts may not be very successful: the memories are not concerned with many scenes of beauty, with many persons of high distinction. But no attempt has been made to give them more importance than is their due; and such claim as they have to prefer, is founded upon this, that they are neither stolen, imagined, nor "touched up." They are certainly open to one serious objection; namely, that they relate to matters which have passed away and ceased all visible operation. Superficially, at least, that is so: but it is not a completely valid reason for not taking note of them. Nothing that can be urged as to the loss of recollection will suffice to show that the things themselves are lost: in fact, a little reflection will show that what has once been, can never return to nonentity, or really "cease to operate." Doubtless the effect of such operation will be

* Littré.

weakened by lapse of time ; and the politics of Christendom are more influenced by the doings of Napoleon III than by those of Sesostriis. Still it remains true, of small men, even as of great men, that the past engenders the present ; which, again, is pregnant with germs of the future. In this sense nothing that has ever happened can be altogether nullified : in the fine phrase of Dryden :—

“ Not Heaven itself over the past has power,

For what has been has been ; and I have had my hour.”

Unimportant as I was, and obscurely as my hour went by, the relation is a fragment—small, but real—of the vast cycle of humanity. For those who care for the Indian Empire it has the additional interest due to a peculiar standpoint ; for it shows the end of a singular system and a rather remarkable epoch.

CHAPTER I.

1825-47.

I was born, May 16th, 1825 in the house under the clock in the quadrangle of the (then) E. I. College, at Haileybury, where my father was Professor of Arabic and Persian, in addition to being Registrar of the College. An account of his varied career will be found in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. XXX. His mother was sister to the first Lord Harris, and his wife was daughter of a New England Tory gentleman, who had emigrated to London after the evacuation of Boston in 1776. His name was Wheelwright, and the family is still well-known in the state of Massachusetts. Mr. Wheelwright had married his first cousin, Catherine Apthorp, who was great-niece of Sir Horace Mann, Walpole's correspondent, and was also first cousin to the Marquess of Cornwallis. There were five of these young ladies, my mother being one ; a second, Catherine, married to the Rev. T. Chevallier ; a third, Alicia, engaged to George Corrie, afterwards Master of Jesus, but did not live to be married ; of the other two I know nothing of interest. My father had been, in his youth, a not undistinguished officer in the Madras Presidency, where he had served both in the army and in the Civil Service.

The College, as it impressed itself upon my infantine brain, was a somewhat depressing building, situated on a desolate heath, and almost inaccessible to public opinion. I have no recollection of any circulating library from which we could get modern books or periodicals ; and I think the students were generally regarded with dread by the members of the Professors' families, as a turbulent and lawless crew. But I have no intention of bringing charges against either classes or individuals ; much less do I presume to criticise my father, who was a man of simple piety and inborn harmlessness, combined with a naturally humorous originality and a wide knowledge of the world. His manners were marked by the

true courtesy of benevolence ; yet I think his life in College was rather more solitary than was quite good for him.

It may suffice to fix the moment at which my memories begin, if I mention that we used to drive our own carriage to town, where my grandmother's second husband—Mark Morley—was a Proctor, or lawyer of the Ecclesiastical Courts, who lived in Paul's Chain, near the great cathedral on Ludgate Hill. My first recollections of London are therefore connected with the city, where, at night, I was lulled to sleep by the roar of the boulder-paved streets, the clang of the neighbouring clock, and the voice of the watchman calling the hour. Among our neighbours I remember an ancient American merchant named Vaughan, who lived in Fenchurch Street. He had been intimate with Benjamin Franklin ; and I recollect observing with wonder that he wore his hat at dinner: after an old fashion long since abandoned. (See Sainte Beuve : *Lundis XIV*, 375.)

I must be thinking of 1830 ; for I can remember that the King, the crapulous George IV, lay dying at Windsor ; and when, one day in January, 1830, my father brought the news of the King's decease, I recollect wondering how the world would go on. In those days children were still taught high ideas of the importance of crowned heads ; and I think mine came—at that period—rather from the Morleys' cook, Mrs. Kingston, who was a great ally of mine. A word may, perhaps, be here said of my grandmother, Mrs. Morley, who remembered George the II's funeral, and lived to hear of the birth of the Prince of Wales. In the course of her long life she had seen many remarkable people, having met Dr. Johnson and been the guest of Washington in America. She was a woman of strong character and played whist at ninety.

My father, being himself a scholar, had a high idea of learning. In our drives and walks, he gave me freely of his stores of knowledge ; and indoors I had the assistance of a tutor, Mr. Knight by name. I still possess a copy of Phædrus in which is the following flattering, if ungrammatical, inscription : " To Master H. Keene, from his private tutor, a testimony of the sincere pleasure with which he taught him Latin and Greek at the early age of six ; and that his talents and general conduct afforded considerable prospects of future character—July 20th, 1832." The book out of which he taught me Greek was a *New Testament* in which the ancient text and the Roman equivalent were printed in parallel columns. To those early days also belong memories of the desultory self-education which is so much more influential upon the mind than what one gets from the teaching of others, however kind and skilful they may be. I recollect the " Book-

room " where I used to lie upon the floor, with some ancient volumes, secured with difficulty from the lower shelves. The Queen Anne "Chaucer" by Terry, with copper-plates of the Pilgrims in the rococco costumes imagined as medieval by the artists of the day, has disappeared ; but I have at this moment before me the mighty folios of Rapin—translated by Tindal—from which the first knowledge of history was to be gained. I also remember *Shakspeare* by Isaac Reed, and Beloe's *Herodotus*. For lighter literature there was *Robinson Crusoe*, with the *Arabian Nights*, some of Miss Edgeworth's tales, and, dearest of all, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, of which entrancing book the well-thumbed copy lies before me as I write, inscribed in my mother's hand with date "16th May, 1833"—not a bad outfit for a young soul making its first entry into life. The overthrow of the Bourbon Monarchy, July, 1830 ; the Reform agitation ; the removal of my grandmother to Hertford on her husband's death ; and the chairing of Tom Duncombe (in his white hat), which I witnessed from her front windows ; these form the first part of the first series of my faded negatives.

The discussion of political principles would be out of place here ; yet I feel disposed to pause on this a moment. It was a turning-point in the life of Europe, and marks an epoch and some new views of duty among those whose consciousness awoke in (or about) 1830. Nor, indeed, could there have been wanting amongst older men some who were sensible of the new day's dawn. Among those who filled chairs during the short existence of the College may be named Malthus, the acute corrector of Rousseau and Godwin ; Empson, the son-in-law of Lord Jeffrey and his successor on the *Edinburgh Review* ; Sir James Stephen ; Sir James Mackintosh ; Jeremie, afterwards Dean of Lincoln ; Melvill, the "golden lecturer," and others of like, if less, distinction. Such men, so near London, could not fail to attract visitors of a high intellectual rank, among whom I faintly recall a few, though no more than names to me. Some glimpses of the College society will be found in the *Autobiography* of Harriett Martineau, who was the guest of Malthus between 1832 and 1834, at the end of which latter year the Professor died. Twenty years later, after the College had been doomed, Miss Martineau recorded her memories of the happy days that she had once passed there ; especially mentioning "the curious politeness of the Persian Professor," and the somewhat old-fashioned courtesies of the summer-evening parties, all over now.*

* V. *Memorials of Old Haileybury* by Sir Monier Williams, London. A. Constable, 1894.

"The Persian Professor was my father, of whom an account may be found in the Dictionary of National Biography as mentioned in the text above.

My intercourse with distinguished visitors to the College was naturally but slight. The clearest recollection that remains is that of Lord John Townshend, who had a house half-way on the Hertford Road, where I remember being taken by my father. Lord John was a tall old gentleman, much afflicted with gout, earned in earlier years by many a carouse with Sheridan, Fox and "the Prince." And stories current in the neighbourhood seemed to indicate that these habits had not been quite abandoned yet, for it was currently believed that, when the ancient *viveur* went to any neighbouring house to dinner, he always made a preliminary arrangement with his coachman as to keeping sober ; for, said Lord John, if Thomas got drunk in the servants' hall, it would be for himself to drive home ; and contrariwise in the other case, if it were the master's turn.

Nor should I forget John Linnell, then renowned as a portrait-painter, who came down by invitation to paint the celebrities of the College in 1833. Malthus sate to him, as did also Batten, the Principal ; Le Bas the Dean, and Empson the Law Professor ; all their portraits being afterwards reproduced in steel engraving, of which copies are to be seen in Sir M. Williams' book already cited. My sisters, brother and self were all painted at the same time in water colour ; and I remember the distinguished artist as a small and lively man, who kept us merry during the sittings with quips and stories. My father, mother and grandmother were done in oils ; and the pictures are still preserved in the family. Linnell, as is well known, became a remarkable painter of landscape ; was never a member of the Academy, and died, ninety years old—so late as 1882.

Amongst a few other memories of that time is one of a journey to Broadstairs by water, and another to Cheltenham in a post-chaise. These excursions are worth mentioning only as instances of methods of travel now quite obsolete. In the former case we went down the river in a steam-packet and reached our destination the next day. In the latter my mother and I drove, in warm summer weather, through Buckinghamshire, Oxfordshire and part of Gloucestershire, in the then constant yellow chariot drawn by two horses, on one of which sat the driver, in a blue jacket and long napped white hat, with a shield upon his right leg to save it from the friction of the pole. No matter what his age, he was always the "Post-boy." Each stage was about twelve miles, at the end of which the post-boy was relieved with a "tip," and a new pair of horses was harnessed. A droll story of those days related to this method of movement—"Posting," or "traveling post," as it was called. There was a General Churchill,

a well-known and somewhat eccentric member of society, who had consented to act on the committee of a Conservative candidate in a Parliamentary election. Party contests were just then waged with singular animosity, fraud and force being considered proper, to almost any extent. The gentleman for whom Churchill acted was opposed by an eminent London hatter of those days, whose name may be indicated by the initial B. Neither candidate having as yet presented himself to the constituents in person, Churchill was hurrying down "post" to open the canvass, and desired to be first on the scene. On arriving at the last stage, he found only two pairs of horses in the stables of the inn, and was informed that both had been retained for a London hatmaker, Mr. B., the Whig candidate, who was expected every moment. "Ah," cried Churchill, "old B. can't come to-day, and I am to take his horses." The landlord had no further objection to make, and the two pairs were "put to" in Churchill's chaise. At this instant up drove B., with horses smoking from the speed with which they had brought him the last twelve miles. To the cry of "Horses out" the landlord could reply only by pointing to Churchill: "This gentleman, Sir; friend of yours." "He's no friend of mine," roared the indignant hatter; "and no gentleman either. Your card, Sir!" and the valorous citizen took out his case from his pocket. "Certainly B." was the cool answer of the guardsman, as he slowly stepped into his vehicle; "there is my card" tossing it into the road; "I do not think I need trouble you for your name and address. I fancy I have them in the crown of my hat." This officer afterwards carried coolness to danger-point and even further; he went out to India on the Staff, and accompanied the army under Gough in the Gwalior campaign, by which Lord Ellenborough celebrated the Christmas of 1843. Before the action of Maharajpore, some one noticed that Churchill was joining a charge without his sword, and was told by the General that a horsewhip was the only weapon he should use against such rascals. After the battle was over, his body was found almost unrecognisable by reason of sabre-cuts received from the despised Mahratta horseman.

But I am losing sight of my "negatives"—such as they are. Among them a fairly clear impression of the old-fashioned posting-inns of those days; large comfortable houses in the quiet main-streets of country towns, with substantial furniture, plain food and old port wine; where travellers could realise the enthusiasm of Dr. Johnson and the poet of the Seasons. Cheltenham was even then a popular sanitarium; with its gardens and pump-rooms, its clerical severities under

the famous Evangelical Close ; and the Duke of Gloucester conspicuous in pig-tail and Hessian boots.

At the end of 1833 my father was much depressed by an unexpected domestic calamity ; and, being in many ways dissatisfied with his position at Haileybury, resolved to retire and take the family to some quiet haven where he might have rest. His reasons must have been strong ; for he gave up a good house and grounds, with many advantages, at an age when a man is not too old to continue his work, yet not young enough to undertake new occupations. We went first to Hastings, chartering a whole stage coach ; and, before the end of the summer of 1834, settled at Tunbridge Wells. Our own coachman brought down the carriage ; and I recollect his telling us how one of the horses had taken fright at "one of these ere Homnibusses." That commencement of democratised locomotion—said to have been originally projected in Paris by Blaise Pascal—had been introduced into London by the widow Shillibeer in 1829 ; and *omnibi*—as Joseph Hume called them—were still novelties to rural grooms and their equine charges. They were indeed portentous machines, drawn by three horses, and carrying no less than twenty-two inside passengers. Coaches also ran to various suburbs that are now parts of "town."

After some preliminary experiments we settled at Calverley Terrace, where my father bought a house with garden and stabling, and where the dear man had hoped to pass his declining years. It was a superior house for that period, solidly built of sandstone, with plate glass windows. Just across the road was the house, since turned into a hotel, where her present Majesty Queen Victoria then dwelt, with her widowed mother, the household being managed by Sir John Conroy. The young Princess was a very sweet-looking girl, who was often to be seen walking in the town and on the common ; and all that was heard of her bringing up announced the preparation for an exalted destiny which is not always so well and wisely made. For example, we were told of her going into a shop where they sold the pretty marqueterie-work for which the place was celebrated (and which, under the name of "Tunbridge-ware" was the chief local industry.) The royal child—she was about fifteen—,taking a fancy to some choice sample of the ware, was told a price beyond the sum in her pocket, and reluctantly declared her inability to become the possessor. "But we can send it and your Royal Highness can pay hereafter." "No," answered the Princess firmly, "I am not allowed to buy anything that I cannot pay for."

I went to school at "Tom Allfree's" ; then a favourite place for boys. He had been employed in tuition in Russia—it

was said in the family of the Emperor Nicholas—and he had married in that country ; so that, though born and bred a Sussex yeoman, he had a good knowledge of colloquial Russian and French, with a very respectable Continental connexion. Besides boys of high social rank in the British islands, Mr. Alfree often received foreign pupils, lads of good birth from Russia, Prussia, Portugal and even Brazil. In such an academy the classical training of childhood rather slackened, while French and geography, and a generally extended horizon, became prominent : there was also an interminable diatribe by the Principal, upon the not very fascinating subject of Russian rivers, beginning ;—“The Mezéna, the Dwina, and the Onega flow northward” A sort of desultory acquaintance with things in general was to be acquired at such a place ; and, as far as one kept up a taste for Latin and Greek, it could be cultivated with the assistance of Fred. Norgate—afterwards member of a well-known London publishing firm.

The period from 1834 to the middle of 1837 yields but little to recollection. In the former year some excitement was caused by an unusual exercise of the Royal prerogative when King William, on the 5th November, dismissed the Whig Ministry. Sir Robert Peel, who was travelling on the Continent, hurried home and did his best to form a government ; but he was not successful in making one that would work ; and in April, 1835, the King was obliged to reinstate Lord Melbourne and most of his colleagues. During this period occurred the fire at Westminster which consumed St. Stephen's Chapel, the Painted Chamber, and all the rest of the old Palace where the Parliaments of England had assembled for five hundred years,—nothing of importance escaping, with the exception of the famous Hall of Rufus. One used to hear of these public events from living a good deal with adult—even elderly—people during the holidays, especially at Belmont, in East Kent, where my father used to take me to visit his cousin Lord Harris, grandfather of the late Governor of Bombay. This nobleman was exactly contemporary with my father, and they had been comrades in the campaign against Tippu in 1799, both serving in the brigade commanded by the future Duke of Wellington. Lord Harris had afterwards taken part in the capture of the Cape of Good Hope by Sir David Baird ; and also in the operations under Bernadotte and Walmoden in 1812, and in the following year in Lord Lynedoch's winter-campaign before Antwerp. At Quatre-Bras and Waterloo he commanded the 73rd, which, with the 30th, held an exposed position on the extreme right of the British line ; and I have heard the veteran, with a kind-

ling eye, relate how, at the end of the day, he had only fifty men left unhurt, every officer but one being either killed or wounded; he himself suffered to the end of his life from the effects of a shot in the right shoulder received towards the end of the action.

I can date my first visit to Belmont pretty well by the fire at Westminster, of which I heard while there: we must have gone again, I think, in 1835, driving over in our own carriage. The old lord lived a quiet patriarchal life; but I remember a few other guests, amongst them Sir Robert Dick, a rubicund soldier, who was said never to open his mouth except to put something in. He died in 1846, gallantly leading his division to the left attack at Sobraon. We also spent a few weeks about this time at Norton Court, the seat of the Rt. Hon'ble S. R. Lushington, who had been Governor of Madras from 1827 to 1832, and afterwards M. P. for Canterbury. Among other vague memories of the year 1835 may be mentioned the long and severe cold season, which, beginning with a fall of snow in October, lasted until the latter part of the following May. It was during this protracted winter, I believe, that *Murphy's Almanac* got a temporary celebrity by the accident of its having correctly predicted the "coldest day of the season," which befel, if I remember rightly, on the 20th January, 1836.

This is not a work either of history or of criticism; yet one cannot omit to notice the effect produced on a young intelligence by the appearance of the *Pickwick Club*, the first number of whose *Papers* was published in March of this year: "Sketches by Boz" having already become a favourite. Nothing can be compared to the swift success of the new book, which was, however, hardly due to the qualities which have since secured Dickens' permanent fame, and made the once obscure newspaper reporter into a friend of the human race. Something strange and new there was in the book, compounded, I suppose, of high spirits, kindly whim, and racy language; but something also was probably caused by the state of the British mind and the nature of the light literature with which the public was then provided. At the time when the "Sketches" and "Pickwick" came into notice, *Eugene Aram* and *Gilbert Gurney* were popular novels; *Rookwood* was the rage; Mrs. Gore and Farquhar Tupper were just opening their respective gold mines. Upon such a world of melodrama, horse-play, twaddling sentiment, and sardonic humour, the broad cordiality and keen observation of the new writer came as a day-break. Old ladies shook their heads, divines denounced it in the pulpit, mankind generally devoured it with screams of laughter.

When I was thirteen I became head of the school, so far, that I was in no class, and had an hour to myself with the classical and mathematical masters. French, we all learned together; indeed, it was the language that we spoke all through the working day. We usually had the advantage of a resident "Monsieur," and I may say some of us learned French very well, and got an insight into the great writers of that language, which was far from customary at that time for English boys. I remember reading *Télémaque*, and some of the stories told by Marmontel and Chateaubriand; also receiving real pleasure from Racine, Corneille and Molière. Nor were sports neglected: Tunbridge Wells was a great cricket-centre; and I have often seen Alfred Mynn at the wicket, or bowling to Fuller Pilch, the great tailor from Town Malling. In such a scene cricket was catching; and in the winter we used to have a good deal of skating on "The Lake," a private piece of water on the Pembury Road. In June 1837, the old King died, and the news reached us in three hours, being brought by the "Telegraph," a coach known for good and rapid driving.

In this way the pleasant years went by during which man is as near to Paradise as possible, without need or passion, and without the bitter knowledge of the forbidden fruit. In 1838 I spent a short and not very happy time (at Dr. Blimber's) in Brighton. At length, late in 1839, or early in 1840, it was determined that I should go for a while to my uncle and aunt Chevallier, at Durham, my father accompanying me on the journey northward, which was then not free from complications. On our way through London, we put up in Dean's Yard, Westminster, where we had a relation married to Mr. Christopher Hodgson, who was a sort of ecclesiastical factotum, and at whose house one met Deans and Bishops. In fact I remember hearing him tell, as having happened at his own table, a story of Sydney Smith, which has become common property in various forms, and is by this time, perhaps, old enough to bear reproduction in its original shape. Mr. Hodgson told us that witty canon was dining with him, a number of other clergy of more or less exalted dignity being among the guests. The conversation turning upon the then new mode of travelling by railway train, some one spoke of the dangers to be apprehended from the then prevailing custom of locking the carriage doors. "Ah!" said Sydney, "the Directors will never stop that until a train has caught fire with some great man on board: as in the days of the Reformation, a Bishop must be burned." Then, recollecting that Blomfield of London, (his own immediate Prelate) was present, he quickly added—

"Of course I don't mean an extremely distinguished Prince of the Church, but surely we might spare Sodor-and-Man."

I mention public affairs only so far as my humble experience is touched by them: otherwise, what a changed world would be disclosed by comparison with the state of affairs at the beginning of the still unfinished reign of Queen Victoria! Canada was then in revolt; "Louis Napoleon," an obscure adventurer not yet serving as special constable, but fighting duels, and frequenting Lady Blessington's; the sheriffs of London appearing in custody at the bar of the House of Commons; the thanks of both houses accorded to Lord Auckland for his "sagacity and promptitude in the Afghan war." I remember going to the House of Commons, then in a temporary asylum, to hear Sir John Yarde Buller and Sir Robert Inglis attack Lord John Russell; and I accompanied my father to see "Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha" enter London to be married to Her Majesty: we afterwards received tickets for the ceremony at the Chapel-Royal, St. James's; but for some reason did not go. This was in February; and about the middle of the month we set out for Birmingham, which was then the end of the N.-W. Railway system. Here we changed into the mail-coach, which met, I recollect, with a stoppage on Shap-Fell, where the axle broke in the middle of a snow-drift. The affair was a general cause of annoyance; and when my father attempted to revive our spirits by attributing the accident to the weight of his luggage, which contained, as he informed the coachman, a piece of the Queen's bride-cake, the mild pleasantry was universally regarded as inopportune.

I have not much to record of my four months at Durham: the visit being chiefly memorable to myself as giving an insight into the peculiarly English form of life presented by a Cathedral-Close of those days. The Chevalliers occupied a good house in the precincts, locally known as "The College," although the University College, in the modern sense of a place of teaching, had been lately opened in the Castle hard by. My "uncle"—so-called as married to my mother's sister—had been something of a celebrity at Cambridge, as having been second Wrangler of Whewell's year; and I do not think that I have ever met a man who was (in the best sense of the word) "second" in so many subjects. Whatever Professor of the University wished for a holiday, Mr. Temple Chevallier was ready to fill his chair, no matter in what course, from Hebrew to Conic-sections. He was also an ardent astronomer, and kept a good telescope at his vicarage, a few miles out of the town. Among the Prebendaries

was Gerald Wellesley, a younger brother of the Duke of Wellington: and a general spirit of culture appeared to rule "the College," with pleasant evening parties, where excellent part-singing was often given by members of the Cathedral choir. I also remember going to a concert where "The Bay of Biscay" was sung by Braham, a German Jew, once the most famous tenor in Europe, but then nearly seventy years old: his singing was chiefly of the matter of declamation, but very fine still.

At midsummer I proceeded south, to prepare for entering the famous School of Rugby, then under Dr. Thomas Arnold, the well-known father of the poet, Matthew Arnold, and grandfather of Mrs. Humphrey Ward and Mr. Arnold Foster, M. P. The journey was made by sea, from Newcastle, a passenger route long since abandoned in favour of the Great Northern Railway. At the opening of the autumn term of 1840, I was introduced into Mr. Anstey's boarding-house; and also into his form—the Upper Middle-Fifth, which was the highest into which a new boy was ever admitted; the peculiar result being that one missed the two main points of public school life. The Upper-Middle boys were not liable to be "fagged," and they had an excessive amount of attention directed to writing Greek and Latin verses. My tenderest gratitude is due to the good parent who, at the sacrifice of much, sought to give me the advantages of Rugby; but the small use made of them by his unworthy son was partly due to the lateness of my entrance there. As this matter involves more than a mere personal interest, a few explanatory words may be allowed. The form under consideration represented an important period in school-life, a sort of "break-of-gauge." The boys in it had risen, for the most part, through the earlier discipline of the lower classes, in which they had been grounded in grammar and prosody. They also had served their apprenticeship as fags—of that service there were two sorts; the fagging in boarding-house, where a certain number of juniors, told off to a certain "prefect"—or 6th form boy—looked after his study and ran his errands; and the out-door fagging, in which any prefect was entitled to employ any junior who chanced to pass. The three forms immediately below the 6th were exempt from furnishing either kind of service, though their members were not vested with the general privileges of prefects. That was the main distinction of the form in which I found myself; it was the lowest in which the boys were not fags; and a boy entering it on first joining the school missed the experience through which every one else had

passed. The other peculiarity to which I have referred was that Anstey's scholarship was of a nature which inclined him to lay great stress on the writing of Greek and Latin verse; and this was a matter as to which, for my own part, no preliminary practice had made preparation. With considerable general information, my education, up to that point, had been defective in "grounding," probably—so far as I can judge, certainly—the classical rudiments are given in a still more imperfect manner at private schools in more recent times. Now, it is open to any one to argue against the study of what are called "the classical" languages, and to maintain that a young Englishman can be well educated without their aid. Into that controversy we need not enter: but few will go so far as to recommend "a little learning" in such respects; no one would seriously contend that Chinese should be studied imperfectly, or Sanskrit taught the wrong way.*

There is no need to recapitulate the petty details of long-passed disappointments: there were initial reasons why a boy of fourteen, always accustomed to the society of men and the pursuit of general culture, should not acclimatise himself to such a scene as Rugby. After a year of false quantities and scamped construing in Austey's form, I was promoted to the "Fifth", then presided over by a much younger tutor. This was George Lynch Cotton, the "young master" of *Tom Brown*, and afterwards better known still as Bishop of Calcutta. Many of those who sat on that form have made their mark in after-life: such as Matthew Arnold, Judge Hughes, the late Earl of Derby, Lord Cross, Dean Bradley, Sir Richard Temple, Bishops French and Johnson and other worthy successors of Vaughan and Stanley. But these men either left me in the lurch, or, as my seniors, got into the Sixth, while my own career came to a premature conclusion in my seventeenth year. It cannot be denied that boys who have left public schools in this way must have started in after-life under great weights, as compared with their more happily-endowed competitors; yet, perhaps, it may be well to note that Dr. Arnold's character and system were partly answerable for their errors and misfortunes. To that pure and high-minded man, the faults of youth were as bad as crimes, and so offensive as to blind him to a considerable portion of a school master's duty. To train and encourage studious and amenable boys, is, doubtless, as commendable as it is delightful; but there remains a wide field of education in which it is equally important to labour,

* It is the less needful to give details of Rugby life, as they have been recorded by my learned contemporary, Judge Hughes, in his immortal *Tom Brown's Schooldays*.

even if less agreeable. For the majority of boys are neither amiable nor earnest, but just frivolous, greedy little human beings; prone to cherish wrong ideals and to contract evil habits; and it is to the correction and reclamation of such as these that the attention of the educator can be most usefully applied. No doubt, it is possible to eliminate the worst specimens, and to gradually build up a scholastic community that shall appear to consist of Galahads and Crichtons: but that is not all—not nearly all—that the country has a right to expect of its most trusted educational servants. In many respects Thomas Arnold was a reformer of the system under which British soldiers, sailors, ecclesiastics, and statesmen are produced: in other respects other Headmasters have done something; and much is still to do.*

In the summer of 1842 Dr. Arnold died, in the very midst of his work and distinction, and I left Rugby, still only a fifth-form boy, in my seventeenth year. I spent the rest of the year with private tutors, parish clergymen in Suffolk and Oxfordshire. During that period I did not come in contact with memorable adventures or remarkable men, unless the epithet may be deserved by the Rev. Mr. Golightly. This once famous champion of old-fashioned Protestantism lived in Holywell, Oxford, near where Miss Rhoda Broughton has resided in more recent days. He united a horror of "Puseyism" to a taste for caricature and a certain turn for comic versification: of all which things a blended sample occurs to recollection. There was an Earl's daughter who was said to have consulted Oakley—one of the ritualists of the moment—as to attending a Romish Mass, and to have been informed in answer that there was no sin in so doing. Upon that basis Golightly produced a sketch in which the damsel was represented on a couch, looking through an open window at her spiritual adviser, who, in monastic garb, was proceeding in the direction of a place of Popish worship! Underneath was the following legend:—

There was a young London virago
Who languished on Protestant sago,
Till, much to her bliss,
Her director said this;—
"To a Catholic Chapel you may go."

* Among the less commonly noticed faults of our public school system, we have still to complain of boarding-houses, and the plan of "sending away" troublesome boys. The former system is objectionable on obvious grounds: no gentleman should be exposed to the temptations and cares of hotel-keeping. As to the other matter, to ask parents to remove their sons, is a confession of incompetence, where it is not a mere abdication of responsibility. It is as if a horse-breaker were to refuse to take charge of a colt because he was wild. Obviously it is the business of the breaker to tame the colt.

Golightly had another design, of a Roman Circus, into which a lictor was introducing an ecclesiastic of mild exterior, while on the opposite side a rufous Irish clergyman was rushing, in gown and band, towards a central pulpit. The warden of . . . in prætorian toga, was supposed to utter the decree, "*Newmanitas ad Curatos!*" The whole being, of course, an illustration of Sydney Smith's joke, that the supporters of the new system should be punished by being "preached to death by wild curates." My tutor, Mr. Guillemard, was vicar of Kirtlington, and used to drive me to Oxford to dine with Mr. Golightly and enjoy his latest squibs. Such things now-a-days would either go into *Punch*, or be eclipsed by that luminary; but in 1842 Mr. *Punch* himself was but a babbling infant.

At the end of the year 1842 I matriculated at Wadham, and with such success as to lead me at once into the highest lectures, Æschylus, Aristotle, Thucydides, etc. Among the tutors were John Griffith, then, and for long years after, the Subwarden, and Richard Congreve, since distinguished among the English disciples of Auguste Comte. Mr. Congreve was a very handsome man, who had been at Rugby, and had taken his degree at Wadham about three years before: he had not then embraced Positivism; indeed, the founder had scarcely completed the publication of his work, and was not much talked of out of Paris. Moreover, the movement which has since developed into the extensive system of Evolution, as taught by Darwin, Huxley, and Herbert Spencer, was hardly even in embryo at the time under consideration; and the matters which then appeared of the greatest importance were connected with Dr. Pusey and Dr. Hampden, at Oxford, and the anti-erastian efforts of Candlish beyond the Tweed. The agitation of the Chartists was viewed with general alarm by the governing classes, who little foresaw that, before their generation had passed away, the five points demanded by the agitation would be either granted, or at least discussed in the forum of practical politics. The financial reform which was to furnish the final distinction of our country, and take away the worst dangers of democracy, was recognised by Cobden and felt by Sir Robert Peel, who, in introducing his Tariff-bill in the House of Commons, had boldly struck the note of free-trade. His words, which soon became famous, were to the effect that as to the general principle there was no difference of opinion, all being agreed in the general rule "that we should purchase in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest." If that was true, the British statesmen must have been far in advance of the rest of their calling, for after the lapse of half a century the principle had not

yet been adopted by either of the two great Republics, on the European Continent, or in America. Other events of the time were the tragic incidents of the Afghan war, and hostilities with China, into which elements of burlesque were supposed to enter. But indifference to "practical politics" was among the peculiarities—some may think the glories—of the Oxford of 1842. Surrounded by the rising tide of democracy, faintly conscious of the distant din of Eastern war, the dons, and those of the undergraduates who took their tone from the dons, were principally engaged in discussing the Real Presence and the Apostolical Succession. We were High Church admirers of Archbishop Laud ; piners for " something higher and truer than what satisfied the last century." On May 21st, Pusey preached, in the Cathedral, a sermon of which the doctrine was condemned by a Board of Heresy convened by the Vice-Chancellor ; and the preacher was suspended for two years, in spite of a strong protest in which he was backed by many resident members of Convocation. In the following month the proceedings of Commemoration were disturbed by a riot in the theatre, on the occasion of making Mr. Everett, the American Minister, a Doctor of Civil Law. It was an instance of the unreasoning fanaticism of youth, that the undergraduates opposed the conferring of this honour upon a foreigner who had once been a Unitarian preacher : Everett was a man of high distinction, who was pronounced by Victor Cousin to be one of the best Greek scholars whom he ever knew, but that mattered nothing to the young champions of the Athanasian Creed. Oxford at that time was a different place from what it has since become. Being the University of the aristocracy, it was also the University of the rich : the noblemen went about in gold and silver, when they condescended to wear academical dress at all, while the sons of wealthy men, who affected the society of the noblemen, had a similar costume without the gold, and ranked as " gentlemen commoners " on payment of extra fees. These payments were typical and formed a standard. The prices of everything were exorbitant, and, as the ordinary undergraduates aped the manners of the others, a general tone of luxury and extravagance prevailed. I soon saw that I had got into a set of conditions for which I had not the necessary self-control. I accordingly pointed out to my father that it was very improbable that I should get a fellowship, and that I might be ruined in the attempt, while he had other children to provide for. On these grounds I begged him to exert himself to obtain for me a nomination to the Indian Service. He argued with unselfish tenderness ; his own recollections of India were not happy ; he would not

have me go to India as a soldier, nor even as a civil officer to Madras or Bombay ; of a " Bengal Writership " he saw no chance. He was at last persuaded to write to Sir James Lushington, a Director of the East India Company, and lay the case before him. Sir James had been in the Madras cavalry when my father was in the Service, remaining a friend ever since ; he now more than fulfilled expectation by conferring the scarcely-hoped favour ; and the first official envelope of all the many that I was to see, awaited me on my return from Oxford for Christmas : I was to go up to town for examination in ten days, with the promise of a civil nomination for Bengal. On presenting myself at the old India-House in Leadenhall Street, on the appointed day, I found a number of other candidates awaiting the ordeal, the examiners being three gentlemen, of whom I only recollect Canon Dale. The subjects somewhat resembled those of a Pass-degree of those days ; two books in Greek ; two in Latin, with the Greek Testament ; Algebra up to quadratic equations, with four books of Euclid : Constitutional History of England, with Paley's *Evidences*. This was passed easily.

Admitted into Haileybury, January, 1844, I had at last a definite prospect of moderate success in life, dependent only on average good conduct and reasonable industry. The College course was liberal, if not hard. Empson still directed the study of " Law, " which consisted of an application of the principles of Paley and Bentham to moral science and general jurisprudence. I do not think we learnt much of English law—Bentham's " Grimgribber"—or that we were much the worse for the omission. Law, as a science, too, was in a somewhat unreformed condition ; though its practical application in England was already showing signs of improvement, its origin and nature were little more observed than in the days of Montesquieu. John Austin had, indeed, begun the work of rationalising, but what has been called his " cast-iron system " was not much to the taste of Empson ; and Sumner Maine was then only a brilliant Cambridge man, and no one could foresee the glowing light that he was destined to throw on the rude foundations in after-days. Another teacher, equally able with Empson and more stimulating, was the Rev. R. Jones, one of the Charity-Commissioners and a commentator on the systems of Malthus and Ricardo. He lectured on history, as well as on political economy. Classics we read with James Amiraux Jeremie, a Guernsey-man of much culture, who afterwards became Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, and died Dean of Lincoln. He lectured in the library, where he was able to illustrate the works of ancient poets and historians by constant comparison, and to quote

French and English writers in commenting on Cicero and Plato. In Oriental subjects we had the help of other able instructors ; and, at the end of the term, our Oriental work was tested by the well-known Horace Hayman Wilson. Heaviside, afterwards Canon of Norwich, was the Professor of mathematics.

With such teaching it was the fault of the young men themselves if they failed to finish their education in a manner to qualify them for the important work of their future lives ; and more than one of the men of that time turned out excellent public servants in India, some even attaining European distinctions. Among them may be mentioned Sir Richard Temple, Bart., who, after a distinguished course at Haileybury, went to India in 1846, served in the Punjab after the annexation, became successively Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, and Governor of Bombay, and since 1885 has been Member of Parliament and Vice-Chairman of the London School-board. A less prominent, but equally honourable, career has been that of Mr. Hodgson Pratt, who retired early, and has for many years devoted his fortune and leisure to ameliorating the condition of the working classes and forwarding the cause of peace and international arbitration. Both these distinguished men I have had the happiness and pride to call my life-long friends ; nor should I forget to add the name of the Marquess of Tweeddale, who did such excellent service at Simla during the great Revolt of 1857, and has in later years been a dignified and popular representative of the Queen, as Lord High Commissioner in Scotland. But, of all my contemporaries, he of whom I was destined to see the most was John Walter Sherer, son of the officer of the same name who was the friend of Metcalfe, and the nephew of the Rev. George Corrie, already mentioned as the intended husband of my aunt Alicia. Mr. Sherer served in Upper India for over thirty years, part of the time on special tasks and duties : distinguished himself with Havelock in 1857, and was made a Companion of the Star of India. A witty and accomplished man, he has produced many interesting books, the latest being a valuable contribution to Colonel Maude's *Memories of the Mutiny*, a work of which his share at least may be expected to take a permanent place in the literature of the subject. Scarcely less remarkable among the students of 1844-46 were some who died before they could attain the full maturity of their abilities, or reap their due reward : among such I may just mention Fred. Cooper, C. B., distinguished in the Punjab during the Mutiny, and Douglas Forsyth, made a Knight of the Star for diplomatic service in Yarkand and at St. Peters-

burgh, the ablest of all being perhaps Fred. Shaw, who died before he had any opportunity of showing what he could do.

Among other privileges which we enjoyed, or ought to have enjoyed had we known our good fortune, was that of hearing, on many Sundays of the year, one of the most famous preachers of the day, Henry Melvill, afterwards "Golden Lecturer" and a Canon of St. Paul's. His rhetoric had a lurid splendour, which was much enhanced by a delivery of great skill and power and a voice of infinite variety, whereby our nerves were thrilled, if our hearts were not permanently affected. I remember a terrific passage in a sermon on the last hours of Saul, king of Israel; one which the preacher concluded in a truly startling way:—

"I will be your Witch of Endor; whom shall I raise up for you? Shall it be the father, whose admonitions ye despised and on whose gray hairs ye heaped the ashes of disappointment? Behold! an old man riseth—and his face is *covered with a mantle*. DO YE KNOW HIM?" W. D. (who was a son of this kind) ran out of chapel, white with rage, having barely succeeded, he told us, in repressing a shriek of defiance. That surely is what one understands by "preaching;" when a hearer comes away under the delusion that he has been personally addressed. Jeremie was also a moving pulpit orator, though at the opposite extreme; and there were those amongst us to whom his refined pleadings were more agreeable than the boisterous denunciations of the Principal. The latter lent himself more readily to imitations, some, I regret to say, delivered in unchastened hours by the more mimetic amongst the students; others by ambitious Professors when their own turn came to fulfil the pulpit.

Among our pursuits may be mentioned a Debating Society, in which, besides Pratt and Temple, a distinguished part used to be taken by Holloway, afterwards a Puisne Judge of the Madras High Court. It is difficult, however, to remember, at this distance of time, how many members of the "opposition," or liberal party, there can have been—always excepting the faithful Abdiel, Pratt, whose life has been a consistent whole of sympathy with toil and genuine love of freedom. The rest of us were "Cavaliers", I think, varied by a few Puritans of still deeper and narrower convictions.

Some had gone through both phases, filled in the nursery with ideas of predestination, and then brought under the great revival of Church-principles. It must not be thought from this that we were saints; far, indeed, from the truth were that. But it was better to look back on a romantic past than forward to a hopeless future: and a youth who had been accustomed to regard himself as an atom in a ceaseless stream of human

souls rolling into the bottomless pit, might well feel relieved when asked to look up to a vision of Holy Grails and white-robed angels, as an orthodox penitent who solaced his intervals of mundane enjoyment by reading the *Lyra Innocentium*. The type was an anachronism, perhaps, but it did not seem so then.

Towards the end of 1844, that bright and cultured society of unpractical aspirants known as "the young England party," came prominently forward, and soirees were held in the Northern Counties, and allotments of land were given and speeches made by Disraeli and some of his lieutenants, on which even the glorified commercial traveller who was then engaged in attacks on the landed interest "did not disdain to smile.* To the *College Magazine* I was a contributor: but enough has been said on this subject in Sir Monier Williams' book above referred to. Perhaps I may escape the charge of excessive vanity if I relate that I, one morning, received from Empson a note congratulating me on a bit of blank verse which had appeared with my signature in the *Observer*. As he was then editing the *Edinburgh Review*, and, moreover, finished his note by saying that he was going to show the lines to Wordsworth, who would, he felt sure, be as much pleased as himself, one was proud of the compliment and probably built more upon it than it was meant to bear.

In 1846 this pleasant phase of life came to an end. Temple, Pratt and Sherer were gone; and the work of preparing for the last examination loomed solid before a solitary man whose future destiny was at stake. Although more than nine lustres have rolled by since then, the long moment of sustained seriousness and strenuous exertion has left an indelible impression; though, indeed, it matters little now. Determined to leave nothing to chance, I worked at the whole varied curriculum, giving lectures in my rooms to any backward contemporaries who chose to consult me, and sometimes sitting up all night. The result was that—though not taking any prizes, for which indeed I never tried—I was accorded honours in every subject: and my good father was at last rewarded for all his patient exertion on behalf of an unworthy son, by the almost apologetic compliments of the College authorities on his coming down to witness the end of the term. They told

* Cobden met Disraeli, John Manners, and George Smythe at the Manchester Athenæum, in 'October 1844,' complimentary addresses being exchanged. Manners—the "Henry Sydney" of Coningsby, and afterwards Duke of Rutland—was author of the famous couplet.

"Let wealth and commerce, laws and learning die;
But leave us still our old nobility."

him they had for some time done scant justice to his son, of whom—as they were pleased to say,—they now felt some hope. The excuse for so much egotism in this narrative is that it holds a double lesson. For the teachers and guardians of youth it is an example of the danger that may be done by keeping but a very few pigeon-holes into one or other of which each pupil must perforce be crammed. To young men it furnishes an illustration of the anxiety and the surplus labour that they will incur if they fritter away the bright morning of life in the pursuit of butterflies. Many a broken heart, many a frustrated career, these two causes have combined to bring about: the white heads of disappointed parents, to quote from Melvill, the silent sorrow of sisters whose education has been neglected for want of money wasted on the training of the boy—such have been among the too common consequences of a short, reckless career, ended in the remorseless bush, or the hospital of some great unheeding city. These dangers I had now escaped: but my health was reeling under the effort, and I had to take six months' leave before departing for India. I passed the time partly with my father, partly in Charles Street, where I shared rooms with Sherer's brother, a charming versatile fellow, who died many years ago.

During those concluding months of my last Haileybury term, the equestrian statue of the Duke of Wellington by Wyatt had been drawn in triumph from the studio of the artist in the Harrow Road to be set up over Decimus Burton's arch at the top of Constitution Hill. The arch then stood a few dozen paces to the north-west, and faced the windows of Apsley House, just where the more recent statue has since been erected. Richard Wyatt had been a pupil of Canova, and his groups of female forms were thought to have much of the graceful suavity of his master: but these were qualities hardly suited to the representation of the "Iron Duke;" and the result was a forced firmness that only attained the dignity of a stiff caricature. A few days after the statue had been mounted on its dizzy height—and a mounted man on the top of a doorway was itself an incongruity—I happened to be riding towards Hyde Park Corner from my lodgings in Charles Street, St. James's Square; when, just as I entered the Green Park and my eye caught the questionable figure, I began to think of the idea that posterity would form of the hero if that was to become the accepted model. At that very moment the man himself came towards me, with well-brushed high hat, starched white "choker," blue frock coat, and buckskin gloves; trotting slowly on a chestnut cob, and followed by a groom. On the horizon was the bronze image, in a grotesque cocked hat, holding a pointless truncheon over the extended neck of an exagger-

ted Arab charger : in my immediate sight was the neat and dapper little dandy, hastily snatching at the narrow brim of his most conventional head dress in reluctant reply to my salute. It should be added that the Duke himself did not disapprove of the statue, nor dislike having it opposite to his windows ; for when, only a few months later, the Government proposed to remove it, in deference to public opinion, a motion to that effect in the House of Commons was withdrawn on the express ground that His Grace might regard it as disrespectful to himself. The removal did not take place until more than a quarter of a century after his death, when the statue was taken to Aldershot, and the position of the arch was changed. The scornful Heine has spoken of the contrast between Napoleon and Wellington as indicated by their faces : certainly the British soldier had not the classic, if somewhat theatric, mask of the Corsican. But there was a certain ground of comparison in their careers : each born—within a few months of each other—in a conquered island ; the former belonging to the dominant race and taking his domicile as a mere accident,* while the latter was one of the conquered, who afterwards adopted the nationality of the conquerors, only for his own ends. The ambition of the one was to rule, of the other to serve ; “glory” being the desire of the former, “duty” the passion of the latter. It is characteristic of modern France that Napoleon is her demi-god ; of Britain, that Wellington was her hero.

CHAPTER.—II.

1847—49.

LITTLE can be found in looking back on one's last days of English life, that could be thought in any way deserving of record. It was for the country a moment of diminishing excitement, a stormy state of the public mind tending towards calm. In the beginning of 1846 Sir Robert Peel had conceded the principle of Corn-law repeal, avowedly as a measure of conciliation between different classes of the community, but under a peculiar and immediate stimulus from the failure of the potato-crop in Ireland, with ensuing famine. In so doing, he undoubtedly laid a chief corner-stone of the great social revolution of which we have not yet seen the end ; but this is not the place for anything like party politics. The policy of Peel alienated his followers ; and he resigned in the middle of the year, leaving the movement in the more appropriate

* To some one asking if he were an Irishman, the Duke is said to have answered : “If I had been born in a stable, I suppose you would hardly call me a horse.”

hands of Lord John Russell. A political lull followed which lasted for more than five years, during which, however, much tumult prevailed on the Continent, arousing echoes in Ireland and even in England itself. Money was abundant and speculation eager; the extension of railway projects became almost a reproduction of the "South Sea bubble" of the previous century; George Hudson, Mayor of York, taking a prominent part, which procured him the title of "Railway King"—with dethronement in the not very distant future. The literary event of the time was the bright forenoon of Thackeray's genius, long obscured by such clouds as often surround the rise of originality. About 1846, he came over from Paris and set up house in Young Street, Kensington, where he was sometimes to be seen of an afternoon, a placid giant, looking at everything through inseparable spectacles: early in 1847 appeared the first numbers of his *Vanity Fair*, recommended by the popularity of *Mrs. Perkins' Ball*, and the *Snob Papers* in *Punch*, to say nothing of a friendly criticism in the *Quarterly Review* by Abraham Hayward, then the infallible Vice-Chancellor of English Letters. The drama of those days was of a less overpowering character than has been since the case: there was no Garrick or Irving, taking rank in society by reason of mimetic popularity; but Macready, a Rugbeian, enjoyed a modest social and popular success, and Buckstone, at the Haymarket (of which house he became lessee and manager a few years later), was recognised as the successor of the famous comic actor, Liston: Charles Matthews, William Farren, and the Keeleys, were all in their meridian. As regards the musical drama, its home was also in the Haymarket, opposite the "little theatre"; it was known as "Her Majesty's," a house now utterly demolished, but then the Mecca of music and its bright and beautiful temple. The chief celebrants were, Lablache, the Queen's singing-master, a big Neapolitan *basso profondo*, whom his royal pupil called "Gros-de-Naples"; with him sang Mario, the greatest tenor on record, though inferior as a musician to Rubini; the chief baritones were Ronconi and Fornasari: among women-singers the first place belonged, as of right, to Heine's "singing-flower," Giulia Grisi, beautiful, passionate, but not quite an artist; she was surpassed in knowledge and skill by Persiani, whose improvised embroideries often suspended the orchestral music and captured the listening house; the favourite contralto was Mrs. Alfred Shaw. Of the works produced with this splendid cast, much might not be thought at the present day: there was, indeed, that immortal work which never fails to please, the rich and truly dramatic "Don Giovanni", in which Lablache was an incomparable Leporello: some of Rossini's masterpieces were also in favour,

especially, I think, "Semiramide." But no less popular were the ballad-operas of which one now hears no more; the luscious monotony of Bellini, and the more varied and inventive work of Donizetti: facile Italians who could not write an overture, and who made up as best they could, by charming melodies for their comparative failure in concerted music. In such a state of things there was evidently room for improvement; and it was this very period of conventionalism and commonplace which gave rise to the new art of Verdi, Wagner, and Jenny Lind. The advent of the celebrated *prima donna* had been heralded by the praise of Meyerbeer, and the enthusiastic success obtained at Vienna. Coming to London after rapturous receptions in the *Figlia del Regimento* and *Puritani*, Miss Lind appeared in Meyerbeer's *Roberto*, May 4th, 1847, and was announced for the part of "Norma," hitherto held sacred to Grisi: who was reported to be fired with indignation at the bare proposal:—"Che cane siete voi?" so the passionate Italian was said to have apostrophised Mr. Lumley and his advisers; "è una sola Norma, ed io son la Norma." The highest expectations arose, and with them the prices at Her Majesty's. The first night was fixed for June 15, 1847; and I was to go on board at Portsmouth, outward-bound, the following day. By an outlay of thirty shillings I succeeded in obtaining a ticket for the gallery; armed with which, late in the afternoon, I joined the expectant throng anxiously but patiently arrayed at the entry, and in due time found myself in my place. The spectacle was gorgeous: the house had been newly painted and decorated: the boxes were draped in amber silk; the greater part of the audience were in court costume. On the right hand side of the proscenium, the stage-box was occupied by the Queen and Prince Albert; yeomen of the guard, in their quaint medieval garb, stood on the stage below; the boxes immediately above were draped in red, and filled with members of the household and officers of the Blues, all in full uniform. When the curtain drew up, it was soon made evident that the performance was to be worthy of the audience. Grisi's rendering of the part had been intense in the sense of a southern volcano; and such a passage as her "*Qual cor tradisti*," delivered with a rush to the footlights and a statue-like pose, had often thrilled the house. But the Swedish peasant had a reading of her own, in which it was soon clear that earnest study was supported by natural aptitude; and her pale face, sweet smile, and golden hair went in harmony, to realise a convincing picture of what a British maiden might be supposed to have looked like in the days of Boadicea. When this impersonation was added to a wonderfully sustained

breathing, a chaste and bird-like vocalisation, and consummate though unostentatious knowledge, the sympathies of all hearers were won, whether competent critics, or only casual visitors, attracted by curiosity or fashion. The rest of the cast was as good as the world could show ; with Lablache as Oroveso, and Mario as the young Roman soldier : the Adelgisa I forget.

The curtain fell on the joyous finale, following the really beautiful duet of soprano and contralto ; and the house was in a tempest of delighted admiration as I wandered out, with no heart for the ballet which was to follow, according to the custom of those days : there was a basis of sadness at my own solitary position on the eve of exile, and there was the artificial sadness of a great excitement ended, as I stepped into the colonnade. Here my reverie was roughly broken by a gruff voice saying :—" Get out of ' ere, young man," and on looking up I found myself in front of a towering form with cocked hat and nosegay, a sword and scarlet dress, in whom my dazzled mind slowly realised a royal footman. As I stared in silence, the gorgeous vision spoke again :—" The Queen, Sir, the Queen ;" and there, a few paces in the rear, was the noble girl I had so often seen at Tunbridge Wells, fairer than ever in the calm beauty of young matronhood, leaning on her husband's arm and surveying the scene with a smile of quiet amusement. There was no time for reflection ; behind me stood the British Monarch, waiting to walk to her carriage, in front was the escort of gigantic men-in-armour, on their black chargers, lining the lower part of the street, and gleaming in the gaslight with drawn sabres. On either hand the colonnade was blocked by scarlet flunkies. On the spur of the moment I made a desperate charge upon the horsemen in front ; broke the line of the valiant Blues ; passed their rear and flank, and flung, breathless, into Charles Street ; thus finishing my last evening in London by something like a personal encounter with my sovereign.

Next morning I set out for Portsmouth, accompanied by my chum and faithful friend ; and in due course found myself on board " Dicky Green's " ship *Wellesley* at Spithead, where I was to share a cabin for the Indian voyage with Fred. Cooper. The so-called " overland route " was by that time a certainty ; Waghorn having, nearly two years before, brought the mail of the 1st October, 1845, by that channel in thirty days. But the discomfort and fatigue were still such that many passengers preferred the longer but easier voyage round the Cape ; and the ships maintained for the service, though small, according to modern usage, were well found and well manned, with a high class of officers.

The *Wellesley*, on board of which Cooper and I shared

a cabin, was a fine model of a ship, of 1,000 tons burden, commanded by a very competent man, afterwards, as Sir Frederick Arrow, Deputy-Master of the Trinity House. He had a good staff of mates and midshipmen, all gentlemanly fellows ; and the crew consisted, for the most part, of British seamen. * Small as the vessel would now be thought, she had considerable accommodation ; for she carried a company of Foot, the 18th Royal Irish ; four of us " writers ; " several married officers, returning with their wives to India, and taking one or two children, among whom was the present Earl of Lauderdale ; also some young ladies and some bachelor officers, with a few non-officials, among whom were an amiable French couple going to Calcutta to conduct a candle factory in one of the northern suburbs.

Nothing can be duller than a long sea-voyage, except, perhaps, the description of one by a hand that does not hold the pen of a ready writer. After we lost sight of the coast of Portugal, we never saw land again for months, but sailed through soft airs, over the burnished surface of the sea, until we came a second time across the Equator, on, or near, the 80th meridian of E. Longitude : and here the great calm fell upon us which has since obtained the name of " the equatorial belt of low pressure." The autumnal equinox was past, and the sun, swinging southward, appeared almost over our heads. Idly the good ship floated, while the more practical of her inmates could only swear or whistle for a wind ; and the sentimental thought of the *Rime of the Ancient Mariner* and realised his phrase :—

Day after day, day after day,
We lay—nor breath nor motion—
As idly as a painted ship
Upon a painted ocean.

Locksley Hall was then in the height of its vogue, known to some by its own vigour, to others by Aytoun's amusing parody ; and its influence inspired me to a sort of echo in this dreary season. The verses were afterwards published in *Blackwood*, and in a volume of poems produced in 1854 ; but they are quite cold now, and need not be recorded here, when nothing could warm them up.

In the beginning of the cold weather we landed in Calcutta, a little tired of one another and of the ship. I found Sherer, Shaw, and Couper † still " in College, " chumming together

* Arrow was a slight, nervous, highly intelligent man ; and Cooper said of him that his name was most appropriate, seeing that he was thin, sharp, and always in a quiver : the last point being somewhat forced, for no one could be steadier in danger, or in any form of duty.

† Afterwards Sir George Couper, Bart., and Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces.

in a house in Chowringhee, where they offered me quarters : but I went, for the next few weeks, to stay with the Chief Justice, Sir Lawrence Peel, who had a beautiful house and grounds at Garden Reach, nearly opposite the Botanical Gardens. This suburb was then a fashionable quarter, before it became the centre of steam navigation offices and the abode of an exiled Musalman family. Sir L. Peel occupied one of many fine places there, on the bank of the river, a peculiar feature of the neighbourhood being the floating by of charred corpses of Hindus, whose heirs had lacked the means of giving them rites at the adjoining " Burning-Ghats," and had committed them to the keeping of holy Gunga after a symbolical cremation.

This winter was a kind of *Entr'acte* to one's life-drama. The curtain had fallen on Europe, and all the actuality of its interests : there was no submarine telegraph, or " alternative route ;" and news that was more than a month old was a little faded ere it reached Calcutta ; like the noises of the street to a man dozing in his stall at a theatre. On the other hand the curtain had not risen on the performance that was to come, and the play-bill told us little that we could understand. Lord Hardinge was just returned from Simla, where he had summered after his work in the Punjab—a bright-eyed veteran, with broad brow and hairless face, whose empty left-sleeve told of Ligny and the last campaign of the mighty Corsican. Lord Dalhousie took over charge a few weeks later, the very model of a young aristocrat of genius ; and, among the comments of an able but ill-informed journalism giving welcome to the new ruler, it may be enough to note the following :—

" India," wrote the *Morning Herald*, then the leading Conservative organ of London, " India is in the full enjoyment of peace which, humanly speaking, there seems nothing to disturb."

A greater authority—the late J. C. Marshman—told us in *The Friend of India* (20th January, 1848,) writing of the new Governor-General, that he " received the empire from his predecessor in a state of tranquillity which has no parallel in our annals. He arrives at a time when the last obstacle to the complete, and apparently, the final pacification of India has been removed ; when the only remaining army which could create alarm has been dissolved. " *

When it is added that Marshman wound up with the conclusion that, " the peace of the country rests upon the firmest and most permanent basis," enough has been said.

* These quotations are to be found in Hunter's *Dalhousie* (67-8), where they are said to be taken from Sir E. Arnold's book on the same subject.

I do not recollect much of this period, during which we youngsters were still in pupillary status, under the system which had survived Lord Wellesley. His College of Fort William had lost its academic character, and "Writers Buildings" had become an abode of commerce; but the name of the College still subsisted, and the young civilians were expected to present themselves, from time to time, for examination in Persian and in the vernacular of their respective provinces, mine being Lower Bengal. Hardinge left on the 18th of January, a man characterised by the Duke, as one who "never undertook anything that he did not understand." So general was the belief in the durability of Punjab arrangements, that Henry Lawrence had withdrawn from the direction of affairs at Lahore, and now took a passage with the retiring Governor-General; their vessel being a steamer called *Muzafar* belonging to the East India Company's "Marine." In three months from that date the bloody rising of Mulraj had begun, and a few days later Dalhousie had made the speech at Barrackpore, in which he uttered the memorable declaration: "The conquered Shiks desire a new war; and, gentlemen, war they shall have with a vengeance." A day or two later he set out for Ambala.

The winter in Calcutta was a time of what a historian has called "deep commercial gloom." The previous twelvemonth had been marked by bad trade and general disaster at home, and these things were bound to find an echo in the East. The failure of several prominent London houses had been followed by a panic in the City; Exchequer Bills had been sold at a heavy discount, and the Bank rate had risen to 8 per cent. while consols fell to 84; for a moment the Bank Act of 1844 was suspended. All this became known in India before the end of 1847, and ere long the effect in Calcutta was the insolvency of several considerable firms, and the crash of the Union Bank. Some of the leading people in the English colony were implicated in serious charges; a Master in Equity was suspended, the Administrator-General lost his place for misuse of estates entrusted to his charge, and was menaced with criminal proceedings.

While these things were afflicting the metropolis of British India, Cooper, Shaw and myself had gone for another sea-voyage; being taken to the Isle of France by a good fellow named Buckle, commander of a country ship called the *Samarang*. This was a former passenger-vessel of 700 tons, which had been chartered by an Arab syndicate to convey rice to the island; and her crew was composed of Asiatics, classed as *serangs*, *topasses*, and *lascars*, with a Maltese gunner, a Scottish carpenter, and a couple of Persian super-

cargoes. The chief officer was a gentlemanly young Englishman, named Hayter, of whom I have never heard since—, with a second mate, afterwards known as a popular P. & O. Captain, by the name of Tom Beasley. These two messed aft with the Captain and passengers; but the writer of these lines is now the sole survivor. The voyage was even more uneventful than that in which Cooper and I had shared a cabin the year before; until the last week, when our repose was broken by an event which was very near bringing the ship and all that it contained to a dark and premature conclusion. It was on Good Friday, as we sate at the cuddy-table in the afternoon, that there suddenly fell on our ears the sound as of distant church-bells. The laity among us took it for a sign of approaching land; but the ship's officers, having the tendency to superstition so seldom absent in those who occupy their business in great waters, looked at one another and were mostly silent. Next day, while we were at our one o'clock dinner, the gale they had been expecting swelled against us, and the wind brought up a sudden core of black storm. Buckle rose from his seat and went out on deck, followed by Hayter. It happened that, shortly before the *Samarang* sailed, an ancient mariner, named Piddington, had published in Calcutta his *Law of Storms*, in which, I believe for the first time, the scientific theory of cyclones was attempted, if not explained: and Hayter was provided with a copy of the work. In a pocket attached to the cover was a small sheet of horn, inscribed with circular diagrams; and the idea was that, by applying this to the neighbourhood of your vessel on the chart, you could find out the probable course of the hurricane and take your measures accordingly. Hayter now produced his hornbook and proceeded to argue that, by laying the ship to, with her head to the wind, we should have a chance of letting the hurricane blow over. Impressed by this reasoning, our skipper resolved to turn his ship's head to the E., N. E., in the hope that the storm might pass over us without delay or avoidable danger. The glass was now falling rapidly, as Buckle "wore ship" and "lay to" with topgallant masts lowered, and courses and topsails tightly brailed to the yards, in which position we encountered the swift approach of night and tempest. To leeward the sea seemed to rise in illuminated glaciers; but as the ship rolled, the wind on the other side lifted waves that swept the deck. In view of all this, manropes had been rigged from bulwark to bulwark, by help of which Buckle and his officers crept about, while goats, sheep, and poultry were borne into the howling abyss. Every now and then the roar of the rain and the wind slackened, but only to be renewed with louder

clamour, as a sail that had been badly brailed was torn from the bolt-ropes and carried away into the storm like a puff of vapour. Meanwhile, as the ship leaned under the blasts, the bulkheads of the former cabins below the quarter-deck gave way under the pressure of the damp rice, which broke away to leeward and clung there, increasing the "list," or angle at which we were laid. Every now and then Buckle came into the cuddy in "sou-wester" and dripping water-proof, to consult the barometer, and apologise for having brought us into such a pinch. The Persian supercargoes cowered in a corner with their legs crossed upon the deck; the one, who had played whist and drunk sherry, and altogether been a lax practitioner of Islam in fine weather, silent, or only crying "Bismillah!" when a charge of crockery was shot down upon him by a sudden lurch; the other, a Haji of devout habits, clasping his Koran in its silken cover, and calmly declaring that he meant to hold it over his head as we went down, so that the holy volume might be the last to sink. As for the native crew, they displayed the usual varieties of human character; some—as Beasley said—"behaving like Jacks," while others crept into any shelter, some even crouching supine under the cuddy-table. About midnight Mr. Lillingstone, the Scottish carpenter, came aft with his axes, prepared to cut down the mizen mast; and very seriously he took the matter, as we were sorry to perceive. But, before this extreme measure was adopted, Beasley, in the intervals of swearing at the sea for washing into his cabin, suddenly professed a happy thought. The timbers of the vessel were still staunch; but, although there was no leak, the water washing in the hold was so deep, that we were in danger of being swamped if more came in. She was now almost on her beam ends; but it seemed to him that this was caused by the shifting of the cargo, and the obvious remedy would be to throw it overboard. My elementary knowledge of Persian was accordingly put in motion to lay the case before the supercargoes, who hastened to accord the desired permission, to be entered, in due course, in the log-book, and hold the skipper free of responsibility in the possible, if not probable, event of our ever getting to land. The bewildered believers in *kismet* saw at once that this was a case when a benevolent Destiny might be aided by human exertion. They implored us to do whatever we liked, and we proceeded at once to avail ourselves of their liberal assent. There was a hatchway in the cuddy-deck, sheltered by the poop; and it was possible to open the stern ports: all the Europeans helped; and the rest of the night was passed in descending to the lower deck, raising the dislodged rice-bags, and heaving them into the sea. About four in the morning, partly by this and partly (I believe) by a

diminished violence in the wind, the ship's inclination was sensibly decreased, and we turned in: Shaw, who was a man of a very cheerful courage, exacting a promise from the officers, that he should be awake before the ship went down.

Fortunately this unpleasant awakening was not required. My own cabin was on the leeward side, completely under water, but fatigue overpowered all other feelings, and I went to sleep with the raging waters audible above my head. When we woke the sun of Easter was shining on the ocean, still swollen with the agitation of the past night; and the Europeans on board the *Samarang* had "Church" on deck, and discussed the storm with thankful hearts. What had happened was soon made plain. In the novelty of Captain Piddington's inventions, it had not been borne in mind that we were now many degrees S. of the equator, where the "law" acted exactly in an opposite direction from what it did in the Bay of Bengal. In applying the horn diagram to the chart, Buckle and Hayter had forgotten this, and the ship's head, when she lay to, had been pointed in the wrong direction. Such had been the force of the wind, that, on taking their mid-day observation this Sunday, the officers found that we must have drifted about two hundred miles since the vessel was hove to.

In a day or two after this we entered Port Louis, the chief harbour of the Mauritius, situated on the N. W. of the island. As we gazed, in the spring morning, at the beautiful low-roofed town, nestling at the foot of an enormous mountain-wall, we realised the difference between life and death, while hoping that we might never again hear chimes at sea. The alarm that had preceded our great storm appeared now to be traceable to a simple cause. In the harbour was a bell attached to a huge floating buoy: and the strength of the trade-wind must have brought to our ears what the ship's officers were quite justified in taking for a presage of tempest.

The island of those days was different in some respects from what it has become since. There were no railways, nor was the cool central plateau of Curepipe generally available for a health-resort. But the soft landscape immortalised by Bernardin was occupied by the plantations of a courteous old-fashioned breed of Frenchmen, who remembered the old corsair days before the British conquest, when Surcouf and Lemême were the terror of Indian commerce; manners—if not morals—were still in a state of Arcadian simplicity. The slaves had been emancipated, and the negroes were taking up the higher branches of skilled labour, while the coarser work in which they had once been employed began to devolve more and more upon "coolies," men imported from India. The main island produce was sugar—it is so still, I believe, though other industries

have been developed—but the growth of the cane and the sale of its produce were, even then, attended by great and growing difficulties. The manufacture of beet sugar was, indeed, far from showing its present vast proportions; and the price of all sugars was more than double of what it has since become. But the want of slave-labour was already making itself felt: the coolies, rigorously protected by law, preserved the infantile waywardness of backward races, who will not work steadily without compulsion. A strike for raised wages—perhaps, merely for a holiday—was almost certain to succeed if it took place at the proper moment; that is to say, after the cane had been cut and while it still lay on the ground awaiting removal; for, lying there untouched in the heat of a tropical sun, it would soon ferment and be of no further use, excepting as manure, unless the men were quickly satisfied and induced to renew work. Added to this, the panic in Calcutta had already spread to the island; money was “tight,” and the planters—mostly of French extraction—were in a bad way. Nevertheless, the old-fashioned urbanity and hospitality remained: not only did the merchants in Port-Louis keep open house, but the good Creoles* were ready to offer bed and board to any fairly recommended guest who chose to visit their plantations. Thus, the four months of my stay made a most agreeable time, on which it is very pleasant to look back. I was an honorary member of the officer’s mess of the Fifth Fusiliers, of which one wing was at Port Louis and the other at Mahebourg. A worthy Scot took me into his house at the former town, armed with whose letters I made a tour in the interior, where the life was easy and almost idyllic. With a Hindustani to carry a small valise, one wandered through woods of ebony and iron-wood, and across plains covered with palm-trees and loquats—locally known as “Bibasse”—whose fruit, with water tapped from “the travellers-tree,” furnished the midday meal. Sometimes the way was shaded by gigantic tree-ferns; arriving on a height, one often beheld a river winding at the foot of wooded hills, or leaping down from rock to rock in a precipitous cascade. Far away across the bright green of the low-lying cane-fields, the blue level of the distant sea was broken by lines of white, as it surged against the black basaltic reefs which rose above the water. At the end of the march appeared the enclosure of the planter’s grounds, with a formal drive leading up to an artificial tank, peopled by ornamental fishes; a one-storeyed house, or “bungalow” facing the approach, and on the sides a pavillion for bachelor guests, stable, coach-house, and store-

* White Colonials. *Homme blanc, originaire des colonies*. Littré. In Mauritius the word applies to any colonial product: horses, rice, potatoes, etc.

rooms. In the decay of their fortunes the owners would have little luxury in the shape of food ; what they had they shared willingly with their visitors—often no more than a fish or a pair of pigeons, a dish of greens boiled with a little bacon, and a bottle of thin but genuine Bordeaux wine. But old-world French refinement was not wanting ; harp and song made music, furnished by ladies often educated in Paris ; and interesting talk with the host who—if old enough—would speak with kindling eye of days "*quand j' étais corsaire.*"

A clean bed in the pavillion aided the pleasant fatigues of the day to minister refreshing sleep ; and in the morning, after a cup of coffee—one went on a similar day's journey to the next plantation. The climate, at that time of year, was perfect ; the island rises in the centre, and the rise is marked by a proportionate fall of temperature so that when Fahrenheit registered 85° at Port Louis, the mercury at Curepipe would be nearly ten degrees lower. Sometimes the rural repose would be varied by a *chasse* in the deep woods, where an occasional hare would scuttle into the adjoining cane-field, leaving a momentary track in the dewy grass, or a rare deer might be driven across a glade in the forest, only to be shot by a happy combination of nerve and luck. Even if we went home to lunch with an empty bag, yet the early walk had been its own reward.

Such an Arcadian state of society was naturally recommended by the charms of the Creole ladies, famous ever since the days of "Paul and Virginia," that hapless pair whose supposed tomb at Pamplémousses was an established place of pilgrimage. But Cupid had adopted business habits since the enactment of the *Code Civil*, which—despite the conquest—continued to be the law of the island ; and the great facility of divorce led to laxity of manners and sometimes to serious events. A case that came under my notice may be mentioned here, though the end was not apparent till some time after. The purport of the law was—and I suppose is to this day—as follows : A man and his wife could go before a Magistrate, and, for a Court fee of two shillings and six pence, lodge a petition for divorce in their joint names. This petition, however, would not be at once granted, but the incompatible parties would be dismissed after a friendly admonition from the Court, and permission to return and claim a decree absolute after the expiry of a twelve-month, should they unhappily fail to compose their disputes during that interval. A gentleman with whom I became somewhat intimate during my wanderings had gone through this experience, being the husband of a lady of the most impossible habits and character, according to his representation of the case. On the completion of the year's probation, therefore, M. and

Mdme. D had made their last appearance as a married couple, and had received their decree absolute ; they parted at the door of the Court, and Madame had taken charge of her little girl and immediately left—for India, as was supposed. M. D..... was now in a melting mood, and made me promise that, when I got back to India, I would institute enquiry for his erring partner. I bore his request in mind, though unable to carry it into effect till some years later, as will in due course appear.

Amongst excursions in the interior the most memorable was that to the foot of the Pieter-Both mountain. This remarkable peak, crowned by an almost detached crag, looking like a Cornish logan-stone of gigantic size, towers over the harbour of Port Louis, but is usually approached from the E. or landward side ; and, at the time of which I speak, it had not often been ascended. This was not due to its height, which was, I suppose, not much superior to that of some of the hills of Great Britain, but was caused by the peculiar conformation of the mass. Our party comprised Hayter, Tom Beasley, Lillingstone, the carpenter, Cooper, and a charming and accomplished artillery-man, Captain Swinney, who unfortunately died soon after. We slept in a hut on the plains of Moka, and the bulk of the party rose at 5 A. M. to begin the ascent ; but I was too tired, or too lazy, and they had to depart without me. When at last I rose, I could watch them as they emerged from the forest, which appeared to reach about half-way up the hill ; and when I lost sight of them, I found occupation in getting luncheon ready against their return. They had much to relate when they came back, having carved the name of the *Samarang* on the summit of the detached crag ; they had succeeded in mounting, by the help of a rope-ladder, which, with nautical ingenuity, the sailors had contrived to throw up. Beasley, who was a skilful artist, drew the scene for me, but I have long ago lost his sketch.

The *Samarang* returned to Calcutta, and we settled down to town-life during the midwinter months of June, July and August, when the climate of Port Louis is more than tolerable. I bought a horse out of the stables of the Governor—Sir Wm. Gomm, afterwards Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Armies ; and this animal I trained for the forthcoming races. The meeting took place on the *Champ-de-Mars*, in front of the Malartic monument ; and my little nag won his race, to the delight of Lady Gomm, who watched the running with keen interest from the grand stand.

Of the officers then in garrison I do not know that any now survive, unless it be General Milman. He, perhaps, has forgotten a certain night when the gallant Fifth entertained the officers

of a French frigate which called at Port Louis, where they received the first news of Louis Philippe's fall and exile. The French navy was an aristocratic body; and the officers professed much indignation at the idea of being transferred to the service of a Republic. We offered respectful sympathy, and many speeches followed the dinner, in one of which expression was given to Royalist feeling by the senior officer present. The Captain had been detained on board, but the first Lieutenant, speaking on behalf of the whole ship's company, assured us that they would maintain their loyalty with their lives. The wine went round—there was no smoking in mess-rooms then; the night wore on; at last it was time for our guests to seek their ship. We caught up the first Lieutenant, who was asleep on his chair, and carried him in triumph through the sleeping streets, which we roused—I regret to acknowledge—by the inappropriate strains of the "Marseillaise." Arrived at the landing-place, we found the ship's boat, in which we left the helpless and still unconscious officer in the charge of his astonished followers. Next day, a number of us went on board, by invitation, to inspect the beautifully kept vessel, and to lunch in the ward-room. It says much for the tact and breeding of our hosts, that no allusion was made to the reprehensible orgy of the previous night.

It became necessary to think of returning towards the end of the southern winter, so as to reach Calcutta by the beginning of the cool season, when our leave would expire. Cooper had already left; but I found him at Madras, whither I went alone in another "country-vessel." We passed a few pleasant days at the Madras Club, then—and I doubt not still—one of the best in India. There were many clever and agreeable men there in those days; among whom, one particularly recollects Major Philip Anstruther, and Messrs J. B. Norton and Osborne, leading barristers. Anstruther was a stout field officer in the Madras Artillery, who had taken part in the Chinese war of 1841. He had been captured by the enemy and carried about in a cage, to be shown at fairs, like a wild animal. He was a kindly old fellow and clever as a caricaturist, one of his favourite subjects being himself. By and bye the old *Wellesley* turned up, on a fresh outward voyage, and we availed ourselves of the opportunity to return to Calcutta on board the vessel that had brought us out a year before. It was a season of terrific storm; and I well remember one special hurricane that caught us just off the Sandheads; and the tragic sight in a trough of the sea, as night was falling. An Arab ship, having lost all her three masts, was drifting helpless; and the crew, in their very predestinarian apathy, lay scattered about the deck: one glance only as we passed: the ship and crew were never seen again by mortal eye.

Our good *Wellesley* was safely conducted to the mouth of the Hooghly by her able captain, and there handed over to the Pilot—a gentlemanly fellow who played to us on the flute—as we slowly ascended the river, brimming with monsoon-water, while his assistant hove the lead.

I rejoined the College of Fort William in November, 1848, with health greatly benefited by the voyage. A few days later, an apparent trifle determined the course of my after life. My old friend and comrade, Fred. Cooper, had asked me to a luncheon that he was giving at Spence's Hotel; and among the guests was Captain Arthur Broome, of the Bengal Artillery, at that time in charge of the Hon'ble Company's gun-foundry at Cossipore, a suburb of Calcutta on the Barrack-pore road, with whom I had a slight visiting acquaintance. After we had risen from table, Broome took me aside and spoke with blunt kindness of my fatigued appearance, which had so struck his wife and himself that they were impelled to ask me to come out to the Foundry and try whether country air and a quiet life would give me strength. I was not unwilling to leave town: the group of my friends there had broken up—most of them having passed through their College probation, had gone up-country to begin their official careers; and I knew that the time was at hand when I must do likewise; I was now approaching the age when Pitt was Chancellor of the Exchequer, and I had hardly left school. So I thankfully accepted Mrs. Broome's invitation, thus seasonably pressed upon me by her good husband; removing my small paraphernalia to the pleasant house in a riverside garden, where they proposed that I should pass the winter as their guest.

Broome has long since passed away, and has left no monument such as might have been expected from his talents and his distinguished nature. A friend of Henry Lawrence, and an officer of intelligence and courage, he had married a beautiful woman, the young widow of a Dr. Kent, and had retired from military life to occupy the pleasant and well-paid administrative post at which I now found him. The Foundry stood on the bank of the Hooghly quite out of town; and between the Foundry and the mighty river stood the house, one of the usual Bengal type, raised on a basement some 18 feet high, containing kitchen, offices, store-rooms and spare chambers, while the upper part, where the reception-rooms and best bed-rooms were, was protected from the sun by broad verandahs and green venetian-blinds, looking on the river and the grounds, shaded by the boughs of blossoming mango-trees and the spreading banyan. Here, in the society of a scholarly man of the world, I passed my time during the cool months, sometimes

reading Bengali, sometimes accompanying Mrs Broome on visits to Calcutta. Broome was, like his friend Lawrence, a student of history, and his work on the Bengal Army—unhappily incomplete—is a valuable and attractive relic of what ought to have been a far greater achievement. In our frequent conversations he used to praise the work of the versatile Resident of Murshidabad—the late Mr. Henry Torrens—on “The Scope and Uses of Military History”: while he would urge similar studies on his youthful hearer, particularly selecting, as a virgin subject, the lives of the European adventurers in the East, such as de Boigne and George Thomas.

One morning, as I was dressing, I saw a carriage drive up to the door carrying a charming young girl who was—to judge by the trunks and boxes—coming to stay. Doubtless, I put on a smart necktie and gave my nascent mustache an extra twist before going up to breakfast, where, in due course, I was presented to the new-comer, a young lady who had lately lost her father, Brigadier General Moore, commanding the Rajputana Field Force. The little lady was rather subdued by her father’s death and other recent sorrows, but her resolute, clear-cut face told of a heart for any fate: and its delicacy of complexion was compensated by a rounded form and springy footstep. Cooper, who was a constant visitor at Cossipore, shared the general admiration excited by this charming creature; but the deeper and more serious attractions of her mind were revealed only to inmates of the house. As for anything but a passing appreciation, I was protected by the broken state of my health and the fact that, being attached to the Lower Provinces, I had no reason to expect that it would long resist the hot and steamy climate of Bengal. Doomed to an early death, I plodded on at the language, corrupt and barbarous as it seemed, and without a literature; so that all the agreeable features of the situation were hidden in a despondent gloom.

One morning I was sitting with my Moonshee, struggling with the difficulties of Bengali, when I suddenly laid down the book and told him I really could not study any more for the present at such an obscure and uninteresting task. “The fact is, Hari Mohan, that your muddy country does not suit me, and it is the curse of my life to have to prepare for examination in its vernacular.” “You would prefer Hindustan?” asked the Moonshee. “Yes,” I answered; “my best friends are gone there, and I hear all sorts of glowing accounts of the lovely cold weather and the beautiful historic buildings that you find there.” “Why not get an exchange?” he asked, showing no annoyance at the disparagement of his mother-

province. I answered that I had applied for a transfer and been refused. "Yes," he said, "you will not get the Government to move ; but why not effect a private exchange ? There is Mr. Naesmyth—you know him—he wants to marry the daughter of the Judge of Chinsura, and the only obstacle is that he is for the Upper Provinces, and the lady does not wish to be parted from her parents." It seemed worth an effort : I wrote a hasty note and sent it, by a special messenger, to town. Unexpected success followed ; the messenger bringing in due course a kind reply. My friend received my missive while conversing with another man on the same subject. "But immediately I had read your note," said he, "I threw L. over, and am ready to exchange with you." Mr. N. and I accordingly sent in our papers, and the exchange was at once effected. He married ; and I suppose the lady ultimately conceded to the husband what she had refused the lover : they went to the Punjab ; and he retired at the end of his twenty-five years, to settle as a country-gentleman in Scotland. He is now—1894—Sir James Naesmyth, of Dalwick, Bart.

At Christmas the Broomes took us to stay with Sir Herbert Maddock at Barrackpore : Lord Dalhousie was still in the Punjab, and Sir Herbert was conducting the affairs of the Lower Provinces and occupying the gubernatorial residences. Cooper and others were included in the invitation ; and among the other guests were Mr. D. Bethune, Law-member of Council, and Sir Arthur Baker, a Judge of the Supreme Court and former pupil of Thomas Carlyle. Lady Baker, who accompanied her husband, was a charming woman ; and the visit proved a very delightful episode. I was by this time relieved of my anxiety ; had become an all but recognised admirer of Miss M. ; Cooper playing a part—to compare small things with great—resembling that of Goethe with Lotte and Kestner in the drama that led to *Werther*.

One would not wish to prose about matters of no general interest : yet the memory of that bright moment is sadly sweet, and its perfume rises round the pen that stirs it. In the day-time we wandered about the delicious grounds, now consecrated by the monument of the beautiful Lady Canning ; in the evening there was music, and the energetic Cooper organised a performance of the "Midsummer Night's Dream" in which he played the part of Bully Bottom with rare humour. I left Barrackpore an engaged man, and went into lodgings to live quietly and studiously until I should pass in Hindi and start in active service. After a successful examination, I was gazetted to the North West Provinces. We were married, very quietly, at St. John's Church, then known as "The old Cathedral," on the 8th of February, 1849, Cooper being my groomsman ; and, after a few

days at Barrackpore, my bride and self set off for Agra (the then seat of the local Government), taking a couple of horses and a man-servant, and driving by easy stages as far as Benares.

Excepting for a few short meetings, I never again saw anything of Cooper; and he has long since passed away, like Broome, in this, that he has left no mark commensurate with his talents and the expectations which they created in the minds of his friends. The son of a London clergyman, he had been educated at Westminster, and had been contemporary with Shaw, Temple, Pratt, Sherer, etc. at college. Of his scholastic course there was nothing to be noted; perhaps his very versatility impeded distinction in any one line. But, in truth, it was that quality which made him so noticeable. With a slight frame, he was muscular as a tiger; excellent at billiards, cricket, field-sports and arms, with a perfect ear, a fine touch on the piano, a voice of much compass and strength, equally suited for singing and ventriloquism, witty in conversation, and gifted with an inexhaustible faculty of speech. Nor were all these gifts merely superficial; on the contrary, they were the outcome of a strong will; and when the time came, we saw that they were part of a character full of resource. During the troubles of 1857, he was one of the most distinguished of the many able provincial administrators of the Punjab, where his capture of a mutinous regiment was a brilliant feat for a civilian, however people less tried might shake their heads at the wholesale slaughter that followed. What was wanting to complete glory, proved to be a lack of prudence and of dignity. His natural high spirits got so much the better of his taste, as to hurry him into publishing a description of the tragedy, which led Lord Canning to say, in his report on the subject, that he recommended for recognition Mr. Cooper, whose deeds would, 'His Excellency hoped, be an excuse for his method of relating them.' Cooper was made a C. B.; but from that day his star appeared to decline. But I must hurry on with my own recollections.

We followed the "Grand Trunk Road," then recently completed, driving some ten miles a day and resting at the traveller's Bungalows erected for the purpose at every stage. After leaving Burdwan we found the way surrounded by picturesque hills, the chief among them being the sacred place of Jain pilgrimage, Párasnáth, since then the scene of an abortive attempt to found a convalescent station for European soldiers. At Sherghati we descended into the level plain of Bihar, and drove tandem through the broad Sôn in a dust storm. At Sasseram we visited the grand mausoleum of the famous usurper Sher Shah; and arrived at Benares about a month after we left Barrackpore. Here, as the weather was

now becoming hot, we resolved to push on: an enterprising Babu had recently established a service of horses—or rather ponies—placed in relays, to take travellers from stage to stage. Leaving our horses and buggy to follow us by ordinary marches, we set off for Agra by the new system, and, arriving in due course, became the guests of the Lieutenant-Governor, the Hon'ble James Thomason. The life of this good, able public servant has been related at sufficient length by Sir Richard Temple, aided by the recollections of others; and those who desire to know more about "a forgotten worthy"—as Mr. Thomason has been called, will find much of interest in Temple's monograph. How well he deserved the monument raised to him by his distinguished pupil and biographer, may be supposed, if only by noting the words recorded at his death by Lord Dalhousie: "Conspicuous ability" wrote the Governor-General, "devotion to the public service, and a conscientious discharge of every duty, have marked each step of his honourable course; while his surpassing administrative capacity, his extensive knowledge of affairs, his clear judgment, benevolence of character, and suavity of demeanour have adorned and exalted the high position which he was wisely selected to fill."

Such was the patron and preceptor under whom civil officers of that time started in the N.-W. Provinces; far in the remote past are the days when we sate at the feet of Gamaliel and learned the lore to be applied, in discomfort and drudgery, to the service of the poor. The matters to be dealt with were obscure and the details difficult; the skill and knowledge of a handful of foreigners must have often been at fault; but at any rate our master was not to blame. Brought up in traditions of benevolent and unsparing labour, he became (in the best sense of the word) a specialist. Grasping the principles of great predecessors—however they might vary in their practice—he learned from Sir Thomas Munro the importance, to rulers and ruled alike, of a strict administration of the land, while, in the school of Lord Metcalfe, he acquired a conviction of the advantage to be obtained from holding the people of each village together in joint management and common responsibility. It was this conviction, based on intelligent study and observation, that gave interest and even romance to a subject in itself dry and technical. "Settlement"—in other words the adjustment of State demand upon the land with general organisation of agrarian economy—was more than a science to Thomason; it was a benevolent scheme, which has been largely realised. Wherever, from the borders of Bihar to the Punjab, a community of industrious yeomen till the light soil, while their children are instructed

in the village-school, and the traveller pursues his unmolested way along the Grand Trunk Road, all attests the wise and well-applied fore-thought of the Lieutenant-Governor of 1843-53.

Mr. Thomason lived in a handsome house of one storey, with wings for the Staff and visitors, and standing in extensive grounds. The last time I was at Agra, it was still standing, and the property of the Maharaja of Jaipore. In those days the seat of Government had been moved from Allahabad—whither it has been again transferred since the Mutiny—and the Lieutenant-Governor was expected to live there all the year round, unless when touring about his Province in camp. Mr. Thomason was a widower, but the household was admirably managed by Captains Minchin and Grant, his staff-officers. Among the other high officials of the station of Agra were Mr. Lushington—since Sir Henry Lushington, Bart—, who was a Judge of the Chief Court; Messrs T. J. Turner and F. H. Robinson, of the Revenue Board; and Coverley Jackson, afterwards the first Chief Commissioner in Oude after the annexation. Mr. Turner's family I remember well: one of his lovely daughters afterwards married Mr. Philip Trench, the able and accomplished brother of the late Archbishop of Dublin; they were four in all, and very fine girls.

After a short initiation into Mofussil society, and into the art and craft of "Settlement," I found myself posted to Muttra, where my friend Sherer was already Joint-Magistrate, in succession to Temple, transferred to the Punjab. This appointment was partly my own choice, Mr. Thomason not altogether adopting the arbitrary methods of some dispensers of place, who make their arrangements without consulting those interested any more than if they were pieces on a chess-board. He gave me my choice of at least two vacancies, and of the two I chose Muttra.

(To be continued.)

ART. V.—OUR TRADE WITH THE PERSIAN GULF.

II.

THE exports from Muscat amounted to \$1,005,595, with specie \$400,000. Of these exports the principal were dates and fruits, \$569,500, which all went to India, less \$65,000 to America ; pearls \$55,000 all for India ; cotton goods \$120,000 for Zanzibar, Yemen and other parts ; grain, \$54,000, of which \$40,000 worth went to the Persian Gulf, and salt, \$45,000, which went to India and Zanzibar. This salt was brought from the island of Kishm (Persian Gulf), where it is found pure and easily accessible. No tax is imposed on it by the Persian Government, the Persians holding it to be a necessary of life—as it is—and having a very contemptuous proverb regarding taxing it. It will be seen that some of this exported salt went to India. It paid the Muscat traders to import the salt into Muscat, and then to re-export it to India, showing that, under efficient management and proper working, it would pay an English syndicate to export it direct to India. Considering the higher price of labour in England, the distance from the Cheshire mines to India, and the profits still made on the salt exported from England to India, there can be no doubt that the trade would prove very profitable, and, it may be, even lessen the cost of salt to the Indian consumer. To the above list we may add an export of salt fish to India and Mauritius of \$24,000. The Persian Gulf abounds in good fish, and, considering the demand for it, as an article of diet among the natives of India, and the ease with which it is cured, this trade, too, would seem to be capable of large expansion. Literally thousands of tons of fish are annually cured after the most primitive fashion on the sandy beaches of the Malayan Peninsula by the native Malay fishers for consumption in Birmah, the Malayan Peninsula, Singapore, and other parts further east, and why cannot the same thing be done here under British supervision ? As for natives and native boats, they may be had in any numbers.

Of the imports into Muscat which are more clearly distinguished in the returns—those from India amounted to \$1,358,340 with specie \$80,000 ; from the Persian Gulf, Bussorah, and the Mekran coast, \$325,640, with specie, \$20,000 ; from South Arabia and Africa, \$149,710, with specie, \$35,000 ; and from the United States, Mauritius and Singapore, \$3,150, with specie, \$10,000 ;—in all \$1,981,840. Of these imports the principal were grains and pulse, \$707,000, from India—there is

no agriculture worth speaking about in Arabia—; cotton goods, \$278,000, from India; sugar, \$63,050, from India; coffee, \$54,000, from South Arabia and India; twist and yarn, \$42,500; silk and silk goods, \$46,000; oil, \$46,000—all these also from India; ghee, \$45,000, from the Persian Gulf; pearls and mother of pearl, \$141,000, from the Persian Gulf, South Arabia and other parts. Muscat is largely a depôt, and much of all the above imports are re-exported—cottons largely, grains partially, salt very largely, and pearls almost wholly. There seems also to be a considerable import of fowling pieces and arms. These go inland to the Arab tribes, helping them to slaughter each other. It may be noted here that fire-arms are also imported into the Persian Gulf ports, notwithstanding the express prohibition of the Persian Government. The large quantity of grain imported shows how dependent the Arabs are for one of their principal food supplies on external sources. Arabia could be starved into submission by cutting off her food supplies. Some portion of the cotton-goods are re-exported to the Persian Gulf; but, as will be seen below, the import of piece-goods for Eastern Arabia seems to be so very disproportionate to what may be presumed to be the actual demand, that the subject calls for special investigation and enquiry. As regards ghee, it is cheap in Persia, and considering its high price and the universal demand for it in India, it is strange that there is no import of it from the Persian Gulf into this country. The total of the exports and imports for Muscat amounts to—for an Arabian port—the very respectable figure of \$3,387,435. As elsewhere in the Persian Gulf ports, the Customs are farmed out here, to Hindoos, for a considerably less sum than they would bring if taken in hand by the State. As is customary in the East, everything is farmed out, to the loss of revenue and the weakening of the central authority: even the Post Office!

In Persia the farming system allows every latitude to inequality of incidence, bribery, and personal ends.

We may now view the trade of Bahrein, an island off the Arabian coast, which does the next largest trade to Muscat. Bahrein, too, is, even more than Muscat, a receiving and distributing centre, importing for re-export, especially to the Arabian coast opposite, whence the goods are carried by caravans to Central Arabia inland. The principal imports into Bahrein were, coffee, £20,039; cotton goods, £38,866; grain and pulse, £83,802; pearls, £107,500; and dates, £11,750. Of these there were re-exported, coffee, £14,063; cotton goods, £21,875; grain and pulse, £28,953; and pearls, £307,813. It will be seen that Bahrein produces pearls. The total imports and exports amounted to £751,168, with specie, £213,251.

The imports from British India and colonies amounted to £272,802 ; and the exports to £319,012. The imports from Turkey (Turkish Arabia) amounted to £146,101, and the exports to £139,356. These were the largest customers. Of shipping, there entered a total of 847 vessels, of 91,077 tons. Of these 57 were steam vessels, of 61,327 tons, 56 of these vessels being British. The remainder were native sailing craft, 50 being British, 320 Arab, 300 Turkish, 110 Persian, and 10 Muscat. There cleared altogether 827 vessels, of 90,847 tons ; 57 vessels being steamers, and 780 sailing craft. The grand total of tonnage inwards and outwards was 181,924 tons. We may also note here the shipping of Muscat which we omitted above : in the returns they are not separated into inwards and outwards, both being put together. French steamer 1 ; British Mail steamers 65 ; London steamers 2 ; coal vessels 2 ; vessels from India 11 ; from Mauritius and Bourbon 2 ; Persian Gulf and Bussorah 9 ; Red Sea ports 4 ; Zanzibar 3,—these were all European and American ;—Native craft 314 : grand total 413. The tonnage is not stated ! And yet there is in Muscat an Indian " Political " Officer, with his so-called " consular " department ! The last separate, and very indefinite heading, in the returns, is " Arab Coast ports on Persian Gulf." After the closest examination, we don't know whether to reckon the returns here as independent of those of Bahrein, or whether they are included in them. As Curzon put it, in regard to Linggah, the same figures seem to do double duty here. For instance, the cotton goods amount to the difference between the Bahrein imports and exports in that line. So, too, as regards the pearls. The principal imports were coffee, £15,000 ; cotton goods, £18,750 ; dates, £30,000 ; grain and pulse, £56,250 ; and sugar, £8,437. The item of pearls formed the main export, the value amounting to £328,125. The total trade was £526,295, with specie, £93,750. Of this total British India and colonies figure for £28,656 only ; Muscat for nearly £26,000 ; and the Persian ports and Mekran for £547,412, the great bulk of the trade. This will show, what we have stated before, that much of the Persian Gulf trade is inter-local in the Gulf itself. It will have been noticed how very small is the quantity of piece-goods for the whole of Central Arabia. In shipping, there is a total absence of steamers, there being 880 sailing craft, 120 of which are British, 400 Persian, 200 Muscat, 10 Turkish, and 150 others ;—in all 19,100 tons entered, of which there cleared 780 vessels of 18,100 tons. The figures for the Arabian and Turkish-Arabian side, in the returns furnished by the Baghdad Consular district, include the port of Bussorah. The major part of this trade concerns Arabia, a small portion being with Turkey, and (probably—for

there is no means furnished of ascertaining it) a still smaller portion with Persia. The total of this trade, as given in the returns, is £3,280,138. But if what the "Political Resident"—a gallant Colonel here as elsewhere in these parts, and no Consul proper—affirms in the following lines, which he has taken the trouble to write to us, be true, the total of the trade ought to be about five millions sterling!—Whatever may be the truth, we must take leave to doubt this enormous figure for the Baghdad district. We have distinct reasons for doing so, though we cannot at present stop to state them. He writes asking us to—"Note that no statistics regarding the exports and imports of Turkish Arabia are ever procurable from the Turkish Customs, and that, so far as Baghdad is concerned, the tabular statements of imports never can, or do show, more than the amount carried by the two steamers of the Euphrates and Tigris Company, as courteously furnished to this Consulate General by the Agents of the Company, and that as much of the cargo carried by them is manifested as 'merchandise' merely, and as no means exist of knowing what much of the 'merchandise' shown in the tabular statements consisted of—whether toys or canned provisions, silk handkerchiefs or saddlery &c., &c., and as regards tabular statements of exports, such showing only shipments by steamers of the Euphrates and Tigris Company, plus those of a few merchants out of many, by Turkish steamers and native craft: and considering that the proportionate amount and value of the cargo now carried by the Turkish steamers under the exceptionally able administration of Commodore Emin Bey in Basrah, in relation to that carried by the steamers of the Euphrates and Tigris Company cannot be known, but is generally supposed to be from double to three times as much, I do not intend to append to my trade report of Baghdad for the year 1893 any such tabular statements. The returns furnished by the Basrah Consulate are more valuable, because, nearly the whole export and import carrying trade (to or from the sea) being by European or British Indian owned vessels, from whose agents statistics are procurable, a very exact idea of the amount of the exports and imports of the port at Basrah may be got from them."

The total of the exports from Baghdad "to Europe and America" (India seems to be omitted most unaccountably!) amounted to £479,773, of which the leading figures were wool, £321,056; gum, about £42,000; skins and hides, £22,830; carpets, £20,875; galls, £20,765; wheat, £13,320 (of this during the previous year there had been an export of £105,800); mohair, £11,622; and dates, about £11,500. In the returns of the imports, those "from India" are fortunately separated from those "from

Europe," though in regard to these last we are left to guess how much was British and how much foreign. The total of the imports "from Europe" was £595,358, of which the principal figures were "merchandise" (!), £491,834; sugar, £60,507; and iron, copper, and paper, each about £7,000. The total of the import trade with India was £251,955, of which the principal figures were "merchandise" (!), £90,490; indigo, £47,061; coffee, £30,804; tea, £12,814; tobacco, £18,446; and sugar, about £8,000. With regard to these imports, it is stated that there was "an accumulation of many thousands of bales of piece-goods in Bussorah"—the port for through trade to Baghdad and districts, and thence to Persia—and that this was not worked off till late into the year under review (1892.) "Goods ordered out for the early winter market arrived here at the approach of spring. The consequence was that the market was flooded with out-of-season goods, and those who could not stand the loss or wait for the next season, threw them on the under-writers' hands on the slightest pretext." Business during the whole year is said to have been in an unsatisfactory state, and carried on "with difficulty." As regards the exports, it is noted that "in gum-tragacanth, which comes from both Persia and Sulimania, a larger trade was done than has ever taken place in past years. This is an article which some years ago was almost unknown here, and now it is one of the principal exports of the country, and promises to become of more importance year by year." The wheat crop was small, and the export compared unfavorably with last year, as already noted. The wool clip was unusually large, though the quality compares very unfavourably with Australian wool. "In Persian opium there was a large trade done" [but this 'large' trade dwindles down to only £2,310, or is not shown,] "and buyers generally realised good prices both in China and London. The drug at first fetched as much as £70 per case, but eventually fell to £50." To write of a 'large trade' which amounts to £2,310, savours something of the ridiculous. But perhaps most of it was carried on in the Turkish steamers, mentioned in the letter we have printed *in extenso*. In any case, even with the figures we have supplied above, we are left very much in the dark as to the most essential matters of the Baghdad trade, as to its real total, the proportion for Great Britain, for Persia, &c., &c.

We may now proceed to view the Bussorah trade. The total amounted to £1,953,052; of this the imports amounted to £838,737, and the exports to £1,114,315. In the former or imports, the principal figures were "cloths" (which include cotton, silk, and wool), £325,825; sugar (loaf and crushed), £100,000; gunnies (bags), £34,866; date boxes, £34,300 (!);

planks, £13,419; iron and steel, £27,325; copper, £24,044; coffee, £18,305; spices, £24,820; raw cotton and twist, £16,040; kerosine oil, £14,498; glassware, £10,014, and coal, £12,146. In the exports, wool, £221,640; wheat, £160,000 (in the previous year it was £355,504); dates, £311,312; barley, £123,751; rice, £56,890; ghee, £38,019; horses, £37,504; edra (a grain), £30,990; gum, £20,405; seeds, £18,848; gallnuts, £15,332; hides and skins, £12,832; paddy, £14,233; liquorice root, £9,838; and carpets, £9,660. "Dates and grain by native craft," which figured the year previous for £500,000 (!), are stated to be "shown under separate heads this year," though where, we cannot see. Such an extensive trade—a really "large" one, as compared with the opium afore-noted—should surely have been put down. There had been no statement of shipping and tonnage for Baghdad, but they are supplied for Bussorah. British steamers, 124, of 129,742 tons, all other steamers, 5, of less than 5,000 tons;—sailing vessels, English and British Indian, 147, of 15,162 tons, Arab and Turkish, 298, of 11,549 tons, Persian, 210, of 12,678 tons, and French, 6, of 846 tons. The grand total of all was 790 vessels, of 174,901 tons. There is no division made between inwards and outwards. Of the British shipping noted above, 78 steamers, of 68,074 tons, belonged to Bombay, and 38, of 53,162 tons, to the United Kingdom—all it seems went to London. In the report accompanying the returns for Bussorah it is stated that "imports were considerably affected by the cholera, which closed all roads from Baghdad, and the volume of upward cargo has not been as great as during preceding years; thus piece-goods, which are one of the chief articles of import *into Russia*, via Bussorah, show a considerable falling off." We cannot understand this import of (presumably British) "piece-goods" *into Russia*. There must surely be an error here. As for other imports: matches: "there is a constantly growing increase in this article." It is not stated from where, though we may supply the information. Most of the matches come from Austria. We may also add an incident that lately happened, in regard to a large shipment of matches, as illustrating the insane jealousy and unreasoning fear of Turkey as against Russia. The maker or exporter of the matches from Vienna had put on one side of the boxes the Turkish flag, with the eagle of victory sitting on it. Doubtless this was done by the simple-minded Viennese to pamper the Turkish national sentiment. At the Custom House on the Tigris, however, the Turkish authorities took it just the other way. They interpreted the eagle to mean Russia, and that it was flying away with the Turkish flag! The "exceptionally able 'Commodore' Emin Bey" ordered the whole consignment to be destroyed and

pitched into the Tigris! This was, of course, done, and no defence heard. Among the remarks in the report, we also see it stated that wood-fuel is brought in considerable quantities in native craft all the way from India! "Wines and spirits are also imported yearly in increasing quantities," but there is no entry of them in the figures! Finally, of earthenware and glassware: "The import of these articles of the cheaper qualities is increasing. British goods, however, cannot compete with other and cheaper goods from European markets."

Of the exports, the shipment of grain to London with a falling market was "an unprofitable undertaking." Of dates, it is noted that "though the production has increased five-fold, the demand for dates packed in baskets and skins in Europe and America remains as before, but the class packed in boxes—almost entirely exported to England and America—has increased five-fold." Finally, "liquorice root is obtainable in large quantities on the banks of the Tigris, and considerable expansion in the trade may be looked forward to, it being in good demand in America for manufacture of tobacco."

The officer making the Bussorah report is styled "consul"; but, owing to the loose way in which the term is used in these parts—for instance, we have seen that the "vice-consul" at Bushire is no "vice-consul" at all, but merely an ordinary member of the ordinary clerical "establishment" of the Political Resident—we are not sure whether he is to be classed with the "genuine article" at Mohommerah, or only a "make-believe," as him of Bushire. If he should be the "genuine article," a consul proper, does England, or India, bear his charges? And if he be the genuine article, then we have, with him, two consuls proper, of the consular department that we have recommended to be formed for the Persian Gulf and ports. Several obstacles to the trade of Bussorah are noted in the report. One of these is that the "lighter" agent is his own master, and it is impossible to obtain compensation for losses incurred between the ship and the Custom House. Another is the bar at the mouth of the river. At present vessels drawing only 18 feet to 19 feet can pass the bar. A third obstacle, often recurring, is noted thus:—"Owing to the rising of some Arab tribes on the Tigris . . . navigation on the river between Bussorah and Baghdad was for a considerable time unsafe for lighters, and hence the carrying trade by such means was considerably hampered." While the two previous obstacles may be easily remedied, the last shows the feeble hold Turkey has over Arabia even when in close proximity. Much slighter is the hold further down the coast; while still further it ceases altogether, the country being under the Sultan of Ryadh, the Central Arabian Wahabi state. In the Persian Gulf there

is only a very small strip of coast, from the mouth of the Tigris to opposite the island of Bahrein, over which the Turks exercise sovereignty, and that solely by means of a gunboat or two, and holding on to two or three ports, such as Ojair and Koweit. What sort of a sovereignty it is, and the way the wild Arab tribes recognise it, may be seen from the following account furnished us by the last report on the Persian Gulf. The "Wali of Bussorah" referred to seems to be identical with the "exceptionally able 'commodore' Emin Bey" whom we have already noticed:—"The Wali of Bussorah appears to have arrived [with a Turkish regiment] at Al-Bidaa (in El Katr) towards the end of February, with the object of calling Shaikh Jassim to account for his supposed complicity in the doings of the Beni Hajir, Manasir, and Al Morreh tribes. His excellency wrote to Shaikh Jassim, who was at Wajbah, about four hours' march from Al-Bidaa, to come in and pay him a visit. Shaikh Jassim declined to do so on the plea of his fear of arrest, and the Wali, on the other hand, refused Shaikh Jassim's proposal that they should meet at some place in the desert, attended by small escorts, to discuss matters. After refusing all Shaikh Jassim's offers for a settlement which would not involve his personal surrender, the Wali imprisoned the Shaikh's brother, Ahmed, and twelve of the principal men of Al-Bidaa, and marched out to surprise Shaikh Jassim at Wajbah. In this he failed, the tribes being on the alert, and in the action which ensued, the Turks lost, it is said, about 150 men, the Arab loss being more than 400, and the remainder of the Turkish troops fought their way back to the fort at Al-Bidaa, the Arabs being kept at bay by the fire of the gunboat *S. S. Mirrikh* [the Wali had two gunboats] to which the Wali himself [very prudently] retired. Shaikh Jassim now seized on the wells on which the water supply of the town and fort depends, and was thus able to dictate terms for the release of his brother and the other Arabs. The Wali was compelled to sue for the safe conduct of his cavalry overland to El-Hasa and for the protection of the troops in the fort of Al-Bidaa, pending a reference to the Ottoman government."

The Wali certainly showed himself "exceptionally able" in clearing out. It is not surprising that, where the government is so weak, where there are a dozen cut-throat tribes in a hundred miles, Arabia is unsettled, and trade below its legitimate proportions. The last report, from which we have extracted the above, contains notices of numerous acts of piracy on sea and murder on land with robbing of caravans, and though the former have been much checked since that date, the latter still continue. The Turkish authority in the northern part of the Arabian coast of

the Gulf is, as we have seen, of the nature of a compromise. After that, further to the south, the coast tribes profess obedience to the Ryadh Nejd authority, and also have relations with the British Government. Then succeeds the Muscat territory, which is very much under British influence.

As we have seen the trade of the Arabian coast of the Gulf amounts to about a million sterling—a trade capable of a large increase—while that of the Bussorah and Baghdad portion, taking the liberal allowance set forth in the letter from the Consul-general, and deducting—for the present—a million for the Persian side, we have four millions sterling as the total trade up the Gulf for the Arabian-Turkish side, and six millions sterling as the total trade for the Persian side of the Gulf, or a grand total of ten millions sterling. From the returns, however, much of this is seen to be purely Gulf trade, from port to port. How much is entered twice; how much is foreign or external to the Gulf; and what portion of this external trade is English, what portion Indian, what portion Chinese, &c.,—cannot be known. The foreign, as distinguished from the British (& Indian), trade is certainly increasing, even if we don't believe that British piece-goods go to Russia by way of Baghdad. This is seen, not only in glassware and Chinaware, but in furniture, Austrian stationery, French products, such as sugar and wines, China and Java tea, Russian petroleum and a variety of other products which we shall have an opportunity of considering later on. Most of these foreign imports enter by way of Bombay, while the exports to foreign parts mostly leave direct. The imports considerably exceed the exports, probably in the proportion of three to two; and if, after a close study of all the figures, we may venture to make an approximation, we should put the British and Indian trade at a total of five millions; the foreign at three millions; and the purely Gulf trade, with double entries, at about two millions. Owing, too, to the imperfect returns, it cannot be seen what, if any, advance has been made in the British trade; while, as the volume has decidedly increased, it would seem that the greatest advance has been made in the foreign element and in the purely Gulf trade. If so, we are only losing ground. And accordingly it behoves us to set our ledger-entries, our trade returns, right, as a first step. And for this end the entire consular and political staffs must be revised, re-constituted, and separated from one other. It is perfectly useless for us to maintain an enormous expenditure; and an imposing, numerous, and high sounding staff; when we cannot know the *a, b, c* of the figures of our trade.

We have seen, for the Persian side of the Gulf, the other things, as roads, &c., which would tend to increase traffic. For

the Arabian side we require more ports, and more security ; and for this last purpose we require to take up the threads of the policy initiated by the late Sir Lewis Pelly, and enter into closer and friendlier relations with the Central Wahabi kingdom of Arabia. For this purpose the present Political Resident at Bushire cannot do better than follow the late Sir Lewis Pelly's example, and himself see the Sultan at Ryadh. We are told by the older people who knew Sir Lewis Pelly, and have observed the course of his numerous successors, that his personal force of character was such as to carry him through in all his projects, and that whatever we see at present in the Gulf is due to him. That is now thirty years ago ; at present we require a further expansion. And it is a strange fact that the older "reports" and returns of figures were full, interesting, and as detailed as could be wished. Assuming that the Political Residents have not degenerated, how is it that these last—the returns—have come to be what they are—short of all detail, accuracy and utility? Having no help for it, we are obliged to use them ; and about as accurate will be found the figures for Resht and Meshed. The British trade of these northern parts of Persia will not be found to amount to much. But in any case, with them, we shall have had a bird's-eye view of the whole British trade in Persia.

We have gone into some detail in treating of the figures of the trade of South Persia, and, assuming the correctness of the official returns, and allowing for their deficiencies, which are many and notable, we have arrived at an approximate conclusion, that the total is about ten millions sterling ; of which five millions are British (England and India) three millions foreign, and the remainder the Gulf inter-local trade, with double returns, &c. We are not content with these figures, but we are obliged to take them. It may be said that we have put the foreign trade at too high a figure. We shall see below, however, when we enumerate the foreign products and articles that enter Persia, that it is not so. There are not the same reasons for our covering so much space with details and figures for North Persia. There are two consular districts, Meshed (Khorassan) and Resht (Tabriz and Azerbaijan), and their united trade amounts to only about a couple of millions sterling, of which British trade represents only about a third, the remainder being Russian, or of other foreign districts. A good deal of the Meshed trade, too, that is British, comes north by way of Bunder Abbas on the Persian Gulf, and has already been entered. Again North Persia extends along Russian ground, with railways and ports in full activity, and until the Persian empire is fully opened up by roads and

railways in the south, we can never hope to compete with Russia in the north, even though we retain a command of the tea supply, and our cotton and woollen goods carry the day in Resht. Considering, then, that the total trade we have with North Persia is represented by only three-fourths of a million sterling, and the almost hopeless character of the struggle there with Russia, we shall eschew details. For roundness' sake, we may take the figure of our trade in the north at a million sterling, including in it the trade that passes north by way of Baghdad also. The total foreign trade, including Russian, Austrian, French, Turkish, &c., we reckon, in the same way, at a couple of millions sterling. The approximate total trade of Persia, thus, is eleven millions sterling, being eight millions for the south and three millions for the north. Of the former England and India claim five millions,—it will be seen that we exclude the figures for Turkey and Arabia,—and other foreign countries three millions; of the latter, England and India claim a million, and other foreign countries two millions. That is, the British trade in Persia, north and south, amounts to about six millions, and the other foreign trade amounts to about five millions.

Assuming the correctness of these figures, the result is not a satisfactory one. We do not show much improvement during the last four or five years; while the other foreign trade has more than doubled itself, is rapidly gaining on us, and its rate of increase, as compared with ours, shows that it will soon pass us. Even two years ago Curzon estimated the Russo-Persian (northern) trade alone at over a couple of millions. A bare enumeration of the imports from British and from other foreign countries will show how this happens, and in this connection we may omit going over the Persian Gulf ports again. Let us take Ispahan in the very centre of Persia. Here we have cotton goods, copper, crockery, and some candles from England, tea from India and raw sugar from Mauritius, to set against oil and prints and candles from Russia, glassware and woollen stuffs and cloths from Austria; these latter and loaf sugar from Germany; candles from Holland; tin, raw sugar and tea from Java; this last also from China, and loaf sugar from France. Or let us view Shiraz in the south, served almost wholly by the Persian Gulf. Here we have again cotton goods and copper from England, with raw sugar from Mauritius and tea from India and Ceylon, as against woollen tissues, cutlery and crockery, and glassware from Austria, woollen goods from Germany, copper and candles from Holland, loaf sugar from France, tea from Java and China, and other goods, as oil, &c., from other parts. We make up the bulk of our

trade in a few lines, principally in piece-goods, and the rest in metals, tea, indigo, and sugar. Other foreign countries not only have a monopoly of the loaf-sugar and oil, but spread their trade over a large number of articles which bring up the total.

We have already stated and shown that our trade in piece-goods, tea, and even in metals, may be largely increased; but it is in the other articles that progress is certain, and there is no reason whatever why we should not also take our share of them. For instance, no Continental house can show more rich and varied glass-ware than Osler's of London and Calcutta. Their show-rooms furnish an exhibition unique and grand in itself. One such show-room in Teheran would carry the day for British glassware over all Persia. We may say the same for British woollen goods, lamp-ware-furniture, crockery, and the rest. Our class of goods may be dearer, as they are superior, but there is a large wealthy class in Persia who would prefer the better and dearer articles. We speak with knowledge. At the same time, there is no reason why goods of inferior make and prices should not be specially made for foreign markets. The same remarks would apply even for India, where Germany and Austria are particularly active, and where the cheap-goods trade, amounting to many millions sterling, would give employment to half the unemployed population of England.

It is strange what mines of industrial and other wealth are thus neglected by England even as regards India. In his work on Persia, Curzon takes the total trade in 1889 to have been seven and half millions sterling, and furnishes one or two figures showing the activity in, and value of, the inferior lines of goods, and both the total and these figures are instructive as connected with our preceding observations on the slow progress we have achieved as compared with other foreign countries in the cheap goods trade. Our present total we have made out as eleven millions; so that during the last five years our total trade has increased by only three and half millions. For 1889 the imports into Persia of English calicoes is given at *tomauns* 6,000,000 by Curzon, and of Russian calicoes at *tomauns* 500,000. The import of silk was distributed as follows:—English *t.* 1,800,000; Austrian *t.* 100,000; French *t.* 50,000; Russian *t.* 50,000. In "cloth" we have only Austrian *t.* 100,000; and Russian *t.* 500,000,—no English. In hardware English *t.* 70,000; Austrian *t.* 20,000; and Russian *t.* 10,000. In glassware and crockery Austrian *t.* 120,000; French *t.* 80,000; Russian *t.* 100,000;—again no British. If, therefore, we should suffer an eclipse of our trade in Persia, and let other nations beat us, it will not be for want of warning.

Besides our Chambers of Commerce, our merchants and producers as a body, rousing themselves to take a more intelligent and practical view of the subject, we may recommend the following practical steps to be taken. First ; there should be a permanent exhibition of British products and manufactures in Teheran. The uses of such a visible and standing advertisement for England need not here be enlarged on. Besides, it would add to the *prestige* of Teheran, and—the increase of trade orders also bringing in an increase of revenue in customs—the Shah should be only too glad to welcome such an exhibition. It would also, for the trades, be worth a hundred special and private agencies. Next ; there should be a few agencies in the larger cities for such articles as tea, &c. It was in this way that Indian tea was introduced into Australia. Third ; there should be some few “commercial travellers” even in Persia. Fourth ; we may add the deputation of some special agents—and this as well for the Arabian and Turkish ports as for Persia—to ascertain the peculiarities of the trade in general ; the capabilities and expansion of particular lines, and especially of those they represent ; the starting of trade in new products ; and the ways and wants of the natives. These special agents might be sent either by the Chambers of Commerce or by private firms, and should be thoroughly capable men, and quite distinct from mere commercial travellers, getting orders for their firms, or even trade agents, employed at the exhibition above recommended, or stationed in the different cities and towns. Fifth ; a new and good route should be opened into Khorasan by way of Quetta or Chaman ; or, if our ally of Afghanistan can be brought to see his interest, by way of Candahar—north-west. This would be the route for trade with India, except for sea-borne goods from Bombay, for which Bunder Abbas must still be used. Some such land route already exists, either by way of Beluchistan, or through Afghanistan, for we find Curzon noticing the former, while there is certainly an entry of traffic into Meshed from Afghanistan.

The next step, it will be readily seen to those who have followed us from the beginning of this article, is the separation of the “political” from the “consular” department in Persia, especially in the Persian Gulf ; the reduction of the former, and the increase and reconstitution of the latter. Instead of five “political” military officers in and about the Persian Gulf, there should be at most two. And instead of only one “vice-consul” at Mohommerah, and another nominally such, but really the chief assistant in the political department at Bushire, there should be at least seven or eight ; two “consuls,” one at Bushire and the other at Bussorah or Baghdad, and

six or seven vice-consuls distributed from Muscat northwards *viz.*, at Muscat, Bunder Abbas, Linggah, Bahrein, Oojair or Koweit, Mohommerah, and Bussorah or Baghdad. As we have seen before, a trade worth some ten millions sterling, over an immense extent of oceanic and inland territory, and including three countries—Persia, Arabia, and Turkey—is left to struggle as it best may, and that with numerous obstacles and opposing forces. The principal and most essential thing, then, is this reconstitution and strengthening of the consular department. And if some three or four other officers—consuls—were thrown in between Bunder Abbas and Meshed in the interior, at the trade-centres, as recommended by Curzon, there would be no harm done. Seventh; the returns and details of trade as furnished at present must be improved and rendered accurate, complete, and exhaustive. They are incomplete and delusive at present. As we have seen, not even the British, as distinguished from the foreign trade, can be made out! And this appears the more strange and inexplicable when, ten years back, the returns were as full, accurate, and complete as the heart of commercial man and the British public could desire. Every particular line of goods, every product and article, could be checked as going to or coming from a particular port or country. We cannot even conceive why these older forms were thrown aside for the present, which are hardly worth the paper they are printed on, unless it be, as we have previously suggested, that there was no proper separate staff to keep them up, or the military “political” officers of the present day considered trade matters beneath their attention.

These, with the opening up of a road from the Karûn, for which we refer our readers to Curzon’s work, are the eight recommendations we venture to make after a study of these matters on the spot.

There are two interesting matters which have, or have had, some bearing on trade in the Gulf, and the opening up of Persia to British enterprize, *viz.*, Arab piracy in the Gulf, and the (late) Mining Rights Corporation. With regard to the former, it is not too much to say, that were the British power and protection withdrawn from the Persian Gulf, its waters would again swarm with Arab pirates, who would sweep not only the islands but the coasts of Persia, and even threaten the existence of Bussorah. Trade, even in square-rigged vessels, would be impossible. Not even our unarmed mail and other steamers would be safe. These pirates are recruited from the Arab coast tribes south of the islands of Bahrein, down to the Straits of Ormuz. They are blood-thirsty and cruel, often adding murder to their depredations. Nature, however, has been very unkind to these Arabs as to the Bedouin tribes in general.

Food cannot be grown in their barren and sandy tracts, where there is no rain. They have neither arts nor manufactures to exchange for food. So those on the coast turn sea-robbers, just as those in the interior plunder caravans. There is no doubt that such has been the origin of piracy in the Gulf, joined with the temptation of making large hauls in the extensive pearl fisheries and traffic found in Bahrein, Ormuz, Jinglyah, and other parts of it. As we have seen, the pearl traffic amounts to close on a million sterling *per annum*, and one moderate haul off a pearl boat would feed a tribe for a year, while other boats also would furnish silks for their wives and daughters! And so the system thrived and flourished till we took them in hand, and have nearly succeeded in curing them.

Even in the last published report (1892) we find the following notices:—(Bahrein) "Piracies by the Beni Hajir continued during this year's pearl-diving season. Several boats belonging to Bahrein were attacked and plundered by them." "In August last fears were entertained by the Chief of Bahrein of an attack on the island by The alarm became so acute that the British Indian subjects at Bahrein embarked their property in boats in the harbour." "Towards the close of the year, the Porte, having raised a question of the right of British officials to take up the cases of Bahrein subjects who had suffered by the piracies of the Beni Hajir, was informed that Bahrein was under British protection."—(El Katif.) "The Beni Hajir pirates carried on their depredations at El Katif itself (the mainland opposite the island of Bahrein), and close to it. In May last two boats were reported to have been seized by them at Ramus to the north of El Katif. They were pursued, and put to flight by Muhammad bin Abdul Wahab, who recovered one of the boats. In the following month another band of 25 Beni Hajir seized a *buggalow* at El Katif and put to sea in search of plunder. The Turkish soldiers who were sent in pursuit, failed to overtake the *buggalow*, which a little later came up with a boat belonging to an El Katif merchant, with a cargo valued at Rs. 1,300. The Beni Hajir, after plundering her of everything, including her gear, restored her to the *nacoda* [supercargo] with three bags of dates, a little water, and a small sail. The Turkish soldiers, after cruising in search of the pirates without success, returned to El Katif." In September a party of the Beni Hajir were reported to have boarded a Persian boat.—They killed the *nacoda*, wounded two of the crew, and carried off \$700." (El Hasa—also on the mainland opposite.) "A caravan proceeding from El Hasa to Ojair under an escort of twenty-five Turkish soldiers was attacked by 300 Bedouins

of the Manasir, Beni Hajir, and Al Murreh tribe, who were reported to have killed fifteen and wounded ten persons, carried off booty estimated at \$50,000 in cash and \$20,000 in goods, and plundered some forty pilgrims with the caravan."—(El Katr.) "A gang of the same tribe under Saliman bin Yatimeh were concerned in an attack on a Persian pearl boat from Jezza, in which they killed ten of the crew, wounded thirteen, and carried off the pearls on board."—(Fars and Persian coast.) "In June a Bahrein boat lying off Kasr Konar was plundered by eleven armed men at Bunder Tibbin, and cash and goods valued at Rs. 880 were stolen. Application for redress was made to the Persian Governor of Fars, but so far, without result. In August a determined attack was made on Kasr Konar by the Al Bu Fakhara, who formerly farmed it, but were supplanted by another tribe and emigrated to El Katr, where they have resided for the last 18 years. According to the accounts received, seven of the inhabitants of Kasr Konar were killed, and property valued at 70,000 *krans* was carried off."

To these we may add the following extract which throws a side light on these piracies and land rebellions:—"The influx of arms into Persian Arabistan still continues, and about 1,000 Martini-Henry rifles were imported at Bunder Mashur by native merchants from Koweit." *This importation is illegal.* The slave trade, too, goes on, notwithstanding that there are at least two British vessels, one a gun-boat and the other belonging to the Indian Marine, generally lying idle off Bushire. One way or other, we have occupied or been in the Persian Gulf—a well-defined and contracted area—for nearly a century; and we find not only this slave-trade, but these frequent murders and piracies. Over an area almost ten times as great, over almost the wide extent of the Indian Archipelago, and with worse and almost wholly piratical populations—Malays, Bugis, and Sooloos,—a solitary Englishman, Sir James Brooke, with means nowhere comparable with those of the British Government in the Gulf, and with only a little occasional aid from the Dutch, so completely suppressed piracy in a few years, that the remotest creeks of Borneo, Sumatra, Celebes, and New Guinea—as we have personally tested—became safe to the smallest boat of the peaceful trader. But it is one thing when a man knows his mind, and means to do it; and quite another when inflated Government secretariats and departments, tied hand and foot by red-tape and routine, who are not in touch with probably a score of their numerous extremities, "say, and do not"—do nothing but maintain a constantly increasing expenditure, and demand compensation for the fall in the rupee.

We may now turn to the matter of the Mining Rights Corporation. It is a story of (supposed) Persian duplicity and cunning ; of a trusted foreign (Austrian) gentleman (a "general") with a great local (Persian) repute ; of British investors freely parting with a large amount of money—nearly a million sterling, with a usually cautious writer like Curzon—of course being misinformed—helping forward the delusion ; of reckless expenditure and monstrously magnificent ways of working ; and finally, of funds spent, no return, and complete collapse. It is because the whole thing from inception to finish is so instructive, that we glance at it.

First of all, then, England is reported to be rich, and her capitalists, though having such unquestionably rich fields as India and Burmah to operate on, directly under Great Britain, fly to get rid of their superabundant cash to Argentine republics in South America and other territories in the Moon. It seems that a chance was seen of diverting some of this superabundant cash to Persia. The ball was set a-rolling. The Imperial Bank of Persia had obtained the right to work such minerals of the country as did not come under the head of precious metals and stones, which the Shah reserved for himself. Something or other was known, generally from native, indefinite and exaggerated reports, that there was coal, iron, copper, lead, and probably even petroleum, in Persia—rumours that should have been carefully and practically tested before embarking an immense capital in an absurd enterprise. It was, however, thoroughly well known that Persia had little need for coal, that iron and lead are mere drugs almost anywhere in Southern Asia—look at the rich lead mines of Ajmere left unworked—, and that there are no roads—much less railroads—in the country for the transport, in any quantities, of any ore, or of coal. These, with the fact of its being foreign territory, and under an Asiatic prince and government, should have sufficed to prevent the broaching even of such a folly. However, there were powerful influences at work. The Shah was interested, as he was, or would be, paid for the "concession." The foreign—Austrian—"General," with his immense local knowledge and experience (*vide* Curzon's *Persia*) was barely interested, merely as the chief adviser and "friend" of the proposed Company. Even Curzon was, by some means, completely carried off his mental balance, as illustrated in his work on Persia, which we shall quote lower down. Still, probably, the thing would not have taken ; but here some one or other threw in the *Russian jealousy*, and the thing was done ! The British fish at once rose to the bait, got well hooked, and is now being landed—the million sterling disappeared.

Some say that it was Persian cunning that discovered the fact, that, once let it be given out that Russia—*which has no money*—was ready and eager to take up the thing, and England would close with it. Such is the account of the way in which the British investing public were induced to surrender their judgment in this matter, as it has been furnished to us by one who has been a “wheel within a wheel,” and who is a native of Persia, though not a Persian. The Company being formed, money flowed like water over the parched sands of Persia—British money. There was a perfect *furor* created. We are informed that, instead of one or two, or even half a dozen, really competent miners and “experts” going over the various districts and making a thorough mineral inspection of them, there were several scores of highly-paid engineers “and others, with extensive plants” and establishments, set to work simultaneously all over the country to dig out its mountains of coal, its tons of copper, and to pump out its rivers and lakes of petroleum! Hundreds of thousands of pounds began to fly away with amazing rapidity under such a method of mineral prospecting; and probably it was at some such period of the operations of the Company that Curzon visited Teheran, and was so effectually primed up on mineral matters that he strongly took the infection. For, consider the following extracts from his work, and see whether any one—unless a wary “old stager” and a *real* “expert,” who had gone through “experiences”—would not fall an easy prey to such representations.—After the following opening lines, to which no exception can be taken, but which makes the subsequent statements the more remarkable:—“Instead of merely putting down vague allegations regarding minerals, I will state what is so far known for *certain*”;—he goes on with these reckless and exaggerated assertions, which are merely specimens taken at random from fourteen mortal pages of the same kind of writing:—“Its mineral possessions are both numerous and varied”; “the richest district”; “iron, lead, and copper”; “copper, lead, coal, and mercury”; “mining operations will be successfully commenced here in the near future”; “peculiarly rich in deposits of coal and iron”; “several iron and lead mines,” “one enormous mass of the most valuable minerals, whole mountains being apparently composed of ores, perhaps **THE RICHEST IN THE WORLD**”!—“The well-known copper mine”; “good coal”; “the most productive copper mine”; “a most favorable opening”; “an eager market”!—“mineral wealth”; “glowing accounts”; “extensive remains of ancient galleries”; “copper, lead, manganese, and turquoises”; “**VERY RICH**”!—“60 per cent. of metal”; “splendid ore”;

"antimony, nickels and cobalt"; "copper, lead, sulphur, asbestos, and manganese"; UNUSUAL RICHNESS"!—"fresh variety of products"; "naphtha wells"; "unexplored Persian sources of mineral wealth"; "naphtha bearing zone extends"; "three oil-bearing localities"; "more than 10 springs"; "30 to 36 gallons daily"; "arena of activity various, well-stocked, and large"; "time will reveal other and equally remarkable sources of mineral wealth"!

But enough. If Curzon on the spot was thus deceived, how much more those at home, so many thousand miles away. With the reckless expenditure the end soon came. There was nothing found, beyond a little coal here which could not be utilized, and a little salt there for which no one cared—both inaccessible. The army of employès have been all dismissed; the "plant" has been sold for rubbish; and the Company is "in liquidation." We know of valuable coal and other fields in India, which may be easily worked and which would realise large profits; sure railway enterprises, on which, if half the capital thus utterly lost had been embarked, there would be a return of from fifty to a hundred *per cent.*—all within our own territories; with railways for carriage; with coal being more and more extensively used; and yet the British investing public will not look at these! But certainly the red-tape, routine, and circumlocution of Indian departments—as well as the "royalties," "mining rules," &c.,—are not very favorable to enterprise. India abounds in mineral wealth; but new and amended "Rules," and a new and special mining department, under a practical head, with a considerable reduction of the "royalties," are very much wanted. The mineral wealth of India, properly developed, would remove the financial difficulty, and start the country on a course of unexampled prosperity.

It remains for us now to conclude with a few observations on certain articles of commerce. Arms and ammunition are imported now on the sly and against the rules. Let us here add that they are liable to seizure, and that the British Government, in the person of the Resident, does not view this illegal importation and furnishing of the means of rebellion and piracy to wild tribes, with complacency. In cotton-goods, thread and yarn, there might be a very considerable increase: quite a hundred per cent. The same may be said of gunny bags—an article very much in demand, and the importation of which is inconsiderable. In drugs and medicines, especially in quinine, castor oil, and a few of the commoner kinds, there might be a large increase. The Persians take very readily to English remedies, and *Eno's Fruit Salt* is a general favourite! In glass and glassware we have already pointed out how the

better kinds of English manufacture would be readily sought by the wealthier classes. There is room here for a trade of considerable value. The same may be said for hardware and cutlery. In porcelain, china and enamelled-ware, there might be a very considerable increase ; but these come mostly from Austria. For toilet soap of good qualities there is a large demand. In tea the trade might be easily quintupled with the most ordinary care, and our Indian Tea Associations, who are seeking markets at the ends of the earth, in America and New Zealand, may well take Persia that lies at their doors, and which prefers India tea, into a little of their consideration. Among exports there might be considerable increase in opium. There can be no doubt that Persia will yet wake up to the fact that, by doubling or trebling her exports of opium, she would be able to pay for her future increased imports of tea, piece-goods, &c., &c. The native Shiraz tobacco is of excellent quality, and a much larger trade will be done in this article in the near future. As we have seen before, the trade with Turkey and India, is by no means small, even at present. The trade in gum, too, is increasing very much of late years, and will yet increase. Finally, we may refer to salt, an article which may be had for the collecting at some of the islands in the Gulf, and of which we have seen it stated in a late paper, that some 40,000 *tons* were exported to India in one year, after being carried first to Muscat. In this salt trade alone there are the potentialities of several large fortunes.

[*Note by the Editor* :—The above paper was written by a Resident of Bushire in July last.

Errata

In the previous portion of the article that appeared in April 1895,

Page 303, Line 17, from top for "banns" read *bans*.

" 303, Foot-note, line 8, for "Parákṛmaavahu" read *Parákramaváhu*.

" 312, Line 8 from top, insert a comma after Manu and omit the same after chapter.

" 314, Foot-note, line 4, for "first" read *just*.

" 318, Line 12 from top, for Saptágrām read *Saptagrami*.

" 318, " 17 from top, dele the asterisk (*) after Vaisyas.

" 318, " 26 from top, dele the double (‡) in two places and substitute * in their stead.

" 321, " 18 from top, for "promulgates" read *promulgate*.

" 321, " 26 from top, for "Suterkāra" read *Sutrakāra*.

" 322, " 1, at the top, for "Parasura" read *Parásara*.

" 323, " 33 from top, for "তামূলী" read তামূলী ।

" 324, " 7 from top, for "গেণেকল্পচ" read গৌণকল্পচ ।

" 324, table, under heading No. 4, for "(as in couplet No. 2)" read (as in couplet No. 1).

" 325, Line 9 from top, for "Pundit" read *Pandit*.

" 326, " 7 from top, for "অচরনীষ" read অচরণীয় ।

" 326, " 12 from top, for "অম্পৃশ্য" read অম্পৃশ্য ।

" 329, " 20 from top, for "Suvarnavarniks" read *Suvarnavaniks*.

" 329, " 17 from top, for "অশ্রেয়াঙ্গেয়সীং" read অশ্রেয়াঙ্গে-
য়সীং ।

" 329, " 19 from top, for "কৃত্রিয়াজ্জাতমেবু" read কৃত্রিয়া-
জ্জাতমেবন্তু ।

" 329, " 8 from bottom, insert a comma after Medhātithi.

" 330, " 3 from top, dele comma after him.

" 331, " 16 from bottom, for "then" read *than*.

" 331, Foot-note, insert an asterisk (*) before Backergunj.

ART. VI.—BENGAL: ITS CASTES AND CURSES.

INDEPENDENT SECTION.

(Continued from No. 198, July 1895.)

(Supplementary to the Vaisya portion of the Article.)

SHORTLY after the Vaisya portion of this article left our hands, we came across a vernacular treatise entitled "Basuka" (বসুক), or the origin and description of that class of people whose patronymic is Basáka (Bysack). The writer is Babu Madanmohan Háldár who, it appears from the preface to his work, has laboured for the last twenty years to collect materials for his treatise. As the appearance of the book has roused the curiosity of the Setts and Bysacks of Calcutta, we give below a brief synopsis of the etymology of the title 'Basuka,' as given by the writer, and his views thereon.

According to Manu 'Banikpatha * (বণিকপথ)' was the profession of the Vaisyas and of the people of the Mágadha class. But though trade is laid down as the profession of the Mágadhas, trade in cloth is appointed by Manu to be the profession of the Vaisyas only. (Manu, chapter IX, verse 329). The Mágadhas had no concern in cloth-trade, which was solely the profession of the Vaisyas, but the Bráhmanas and the Kshatriyas, in times of distress, could adopt it under certain restrictions. The Súdras, whose sole duty was the service of the twice-born class, especially of the Bráhmanas, were never permitted to adopt it. Should a Súdra, however, be unable to maintain his family and children by serving the twice-born classes, he should live by practising such handicraft or art as will enable him thereby to serve the twice-born classes (Manu, chapter X, verses 99 and 100). In the Manáva Dharma Shástra no rule is laid down permitting the Súdras to carry on trade in cloth. Therefore the Súdras were never cloth-merchants. So it can be said with certainty, that of the four principal castes and the mixed classes, trade in cloth was the sole profession of the Vaisyás ; persons other than Vaisyas had no concern in it.

Such was the hard-and-fast rule of Manu, that people of lower caste could never adopt the profession of a higher caste (Manu, chapter VIII, verse 410.) The transgression

* Commerce by land and water (Kulluka's Commentary on Manu, chapter I, verse 90) ; or commerce by land only (Kulluka's commentary on Manu, chapter X, verse 47.)

of this law was visited by confiscation of the property and exile of the persons found guilty (Manu, chapter X, verse 96.) Trade in cloth was therefore the exclusive profession of the Vaisyas. So long as Hindu society was governed by Manu's laws, persons of one caste could not adopt the profession of people of another caste.

About the fourth century of the Christian era, Yājñavalkya enacted that the Sūdras could adopt the profession of the *Vaniks* (merchants.) But this enactment is opposed to the law of Manu. Thus, from the time of Yājñavalkya, *i.e.* from about the fourth century of the Christian era, the Sūdras adopted the profession of the Vaisyas, and from that time cloth-trade became the common profession of the Vaisyas and the Sūdras.

The law promulgated by Yājñavalkya remained in force from the fourth to the tenth century of the Christian era. Towards the close of the twelfth century, the Mahomedans conquered the country. At this time new *Shāstras* and new laws were fabricated and promulgated and engrafted on the old *Shāstras*. Hence, it is difficult to prove from these adulterated *Shāstras* that the cloth-trade is the exclusive profession of the Vaisyas.

Weaving is the profession of the Sūdras. Trade in cloth is the profession of the Vaisyas. Verse 397, chapter VIII of the Manáva Dharma Shāstra shows that weaving is the profession of the Tantuvāyas, but trade in cloth is the profession of the Vaisyas, as seen before (Manu, chapter IX, verse 329.) A perusal of verse 397 of chapter VIII of the Manáva Dharma Shāstra, with verse 329 of chapter IX of it, clearly shows that Manu's intent was that the Tantuvāyas should weave cloth and the Vaisyas should trade in it. So weaving and cloth-trade are not the professions of one and the same caste. The profession of each is distinct from that of the other, and has been fixed as such in law. If the profession of the one be assigned to the other, *i.e.*, if the Tantuvāyas be called cloth-merchants, or cloth-merchants Tantuvāyas, the real intent of the *Shāstras* is frustrated.

Again, according to Manu (chapter X, verse 121), a Sūdra, unable to maintain his family and children by serving the Bráhmanas, may, if he so desire, serve a Kshatriya or a wealthy Vaisya. Hence Sūdras are found serving those Vaisyas who dealt in cloth by weaving cloth for them. These Sūdras came to be called Tantuvāyas in Manu's time. A perusal of verses 100 and 121 of chapter X of the Manáva Dharma Shāstra, with verse 397 of chapter VIII, produces the conviction that, according to Manu, a separate caste, called the Tantuvāyas, did not exist. In his time the Sūdras

used to weave, and those who practised the art of weaving were Súdras. The appellation 'Tantuváya' signified a profession and not a caste-distinction. The term came in later times to denote a separate class among the Súdras.

Thus it will be seen that weaving is the profession of the Súdras, or, in other words, the Tantuváyas are Súdras. Most probably the Tantuváyas adopted cloth-trade in conformity with the sanction given by Yájnavalkya to the effect that Súdras could adopt trade.

When Buddhism declined and the Vedic religion was resuscitated—about the eleventh century of the Christian era,—three out of the four pure castes were admitted as in actual existence. The Vaisya caste was not then recognized as a separate caste.

According to the Shástras * the name and family title of a Vaisya should be indicative of wealth. But this rule is not observed as respects modern patronymics. Ancient patronymics were fixed according to the rule laid down in the Shástras. Hence to determine the Vaisyaism of a particular class of people, recourse must be had to ancient patronymics. Of the four principal castes, the Vaisyas were the only class who were enjoined to collect wealth (Manu, chapter II, verse 155.) The Súdras were not permitted to amass wealth (Manu, chapter X, verse 129.) Therefore a patronymic indicative of wealth, belonged exclusively to a Vaisya. Persons other than Vaisyas were not permitted to adopt such a patronymic. Manu has applied the term धनौ wealthy, to Vaisyas alone.

A patronymic indicative of wealth is the caste-title of a Vaisya. Trade is his caste-profession. Therefore the Vaisyas are the real merchants (বণিক) But the appellation 'Vanik' is not their caste-patronymic. It is indicative of a profession, not of a caste. For in times of distress, Bráhmanas and Kshatriyas could adopt trade under certain restrictions, and, when such was the case, they were then Vaniks. Vanik is, therefore, a title of profession of those who carried on trade ; it was never a title indicative of any caste. On the other hand, trade is one of the professions of the Vaisyas, but not their sole profession, for, had it been such, it would have been sufficient if all of them had borne the title 'Vanik.' But, besides trade, the Vaisyas had another occupation according to the Shástras, *viz.*, tending cattle. Those who adopted this occupation could not be styled Vaniks (merchants.) Trade is the cause from which the title 'Vanik' sprang. A person

* See Manu, chapter II, verses 31 and 32, and Kulluka's Commentary on the latter.

carrying on trade is a Vanik ; in its absence he is not a Vanik. But when persons can be styled Vaisyas without trade, what is the common title applicable to all? When it is found that according to Manu a Vanik may not be a Vaisya, and a Vaisya is not necessarily a Vanik, the title 'Vanik' cannot be accepted as applicable to the whole Vaisya community, indicative of a particular caste. Those Vaisyas who adopted professions of the class other than trade, lost their title to Vaisyaism as respects it. Therefore the title 'Vanik' can never be a title indicative of a particular caste. It is a title of a particular profession which may be adopted by a Bráhmāna, a Kshatriya, or even a Súdra. Acquisition of wealth is the sole object of all the Vaisya professions, hence a title which indicates wealth is the caste-title of the Vaisyas.

But though at present titles indicative of wealth are found among various classes of people, they cannot be accepted as belonging to the Vaisya class. In these circumstances it is imperative to prove the antiquity of the titles. But when, with the antiquity of the patronymic, the fact of trade is established, all sorts of doubts disappear. Now what is that ancient patronymic ?

Usanas Sanhitá is one of the most ancient treatises on Dharma Shástra. In it the word बसुक (Basuka) is used as a patronymic of cloth-trading Vaisyas, and the distinction between the calling of the Tantuváyas and the profession of the Basukas is clearly shown, thus—

तन्तुवाया भवन्तो बसुकांस्योपजीविनः ।

शीलकाः केचिदत्रैव जीवनं वस्तुनिर्मिते ॥

Tantuváyas obtain their livelihood by serving the Basukas in weaving (and preparing cloth) for them. Among them there is (a certain class whose patronymic is) Sílaka (sil).

According to the Shástras, the title 'Basuka' is the title of the Vaisyas, for the Sanskrit word बसुक means wealth. From the verse in the Usanas Sanhitá quoted, it is clear that this title was the title of cloth-trading Vaisyas, and that the class of people who used this title after their name were Vaisyas and cloth-merchants.

This original title 'Basuka' (बसुक) came in after time to be written and spelt first as बसक (Basaka) and then as बसाक (Basáka). In the Karnati language the word 'Bokkasa' means a treasure, and is no doubt a corruption of the original Sanskrit word 'Basuka.' The Basukas were the ancient trading Vaisyas of the country and visited China, the Indian Archipelago, Ceylon, Arabia and as far west as Africa.

In Africa there live a class of people who are called 'Basoko' (Stanley's Darkest Africa, London, 1890; page 361), and they are, it is supposed the descendants of the ancient 'Basukas,' who used to visit Africa for the purpose of trade. The Basokos are also called 'Basogas,' or 'Wasokis,' in particular parts of Africa (Stanley's Darkest Africa, pages 539 and 473.)

At present, however, the word 'Basuka' is not used in its original sense of wealth, for the word has no doubt lost its original meaning, and it is incumbent on all now to restore it.

From the above, the reader will know the views of the author of 'Basuka,' who has spared no pains to support his theory, by gleanings from various authors, that the Basukas were the ancient trading Vaisyas of the country. We have shown before that the Bysacks, including the Setts, &c., represent a portion of the ancient trading Vaisyas of Manu, but we do not admit that they were the only trading Vaisyas. There were other trading Vaisyas who competed with the Basukas in foreign trade. The difference between ourselves and the author of 'Basuka' lies in the fact that, whereas we have treated the Tantuváyas, including the Setts and Bysacks, as Vaisyas, the author of 'Basuka' makes a distinction between the Bysacks, including the Setts on the one hand, and the Tantuváyas on the other, by treating the former as Vaisyas and the latter as Súdras. He bases this distinction on verse 397, chapter VIII of the Manáva Dharma Shástra, which we have already quoted in the Vaisya portion of our article. That verse lays down that the Tantuváya who receives ten *palas* of cotton should return cloth weighing eleven *palas*. No direct evidence can be adduced from this or from any other verse in Manu, proving that the Tantuváyas are Súdras. It is by inference only that the author of 'Basuka' has arrived at that conclusion, and that inference after all may not be a correct one. Unless, and until we get direct evidence that the Tantuváyas are Súdras, we are not justified in altering our opinion regarding their Vaisyaism.

We have seen the verse quoted by the author of 'Basuka' in the copy of the Usana Sanhitá, printed at the Samachar-chandrika Press by Bhavanicharan Bandopadhaya, which is lodged in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and we have no reason to doubt its genuineness or authenticity, but the commentary on it is, we understand, given by the author of Basuka himself. We accept, therefore, the verse, but reject the commentary, which appears to us to be unsound and inconsistent with the established usage of society, and with it, the distinction made between the Basukas and the Tantuváyas. The author introduces a commentary

with all the air of an ancient commentator, without telling the public who the author of that commentary was. We are of opinion (and we do not see any reason to change it) that the Tantuváyas, as a class, are Vaisyas, and that among them the Setts and Bysacks, who probably gave up weaving from time immemorial differentiated into a separate sub-division, ranking as the first among the class on account of their having given up the art of weaving and amassed wealth by carrying on trade in cloth. In course of time the Basukas came to be regarded as separate from the Tantuváyas, and are still regarded as such by other classes of Tantuváyas. It is evident that, in good olden days, as well as in later ages, the kings of Cottonopolis had no time to use the warp and the woof, not that weaving was held as an undignified work. They were too much occupied with the mercantile part of the business to have time to attend to the production of cloth. It may be a fact that the class of people bearing the patronymic of Bysack (originally Basuka) never took to weaving, nor had they any occasion to do so, because their duties as traders in cloth were sufficient to employ their sole attention and time. It is the same as we find at present at Manchester. The proprietors of the mills employ weavers to produce cloth: these weavers or workers are as good Englishmen as their masters. There is no other distinction between them in respect to caste than what attaches to wealth and to poverty. The Basukas in the time of Manu stood in the same relation to weavers that the proprietors of the English mills stand in at present in respect of workers in those mills. The verse in the Usana Sanhitá quoted by the author of Basuka means nothing more than that the Basukas employed the Tantuváyas to prepare cloth for them to carry on trade, and, as employers or retainers, they were naturally looked upon as superior in rank and distinct from those employed or retained. It does not say either directly or indirectly that the Basukas are Vaisyas, or that the Tantuváyas are Súdras. The commentary on it which makes this distinction is not accepted by us as of any value whatever. Nevertheless, we thank the author of Basuka for pointing out the verse in the Usana Sanhitá with which we were unacquainted before, and which for the first time gives the correct etymology of the patronymic 'Bysack,' and proves incontestibly that the Basakas (Bysacks)* represent the ancient Basukas.

* There is no distinction between the Setts and Bysacks. Basuka is the original title of both. In course of time, some of the Basukas assumed the title 'Sresthi' (স্রেষ্ঠী) which afterwards came to be spelt as 'Sethi' (সেথী) and then as Selt (সেল্ট).

THE MIXED CASTES—*Continued.*

The mixed castes that stand first in order are thus enumerated by Manu:—

স্ত্রীষনন্তরজাতানু দ্বিজৈরুৎপাদিতানু স্তনানু ।
সদৃশানেবতানাহুর্মাভূদাষবিগর্হিতানু ॥

Manu, ch. x. v. 6.

"Sons, begotten by twice-born men on wives of the next lower castes, they declare to be similar (to their fathers, but) blamed on account of the fault (inherent) in their mothers."

Bülher's translation.

Sir William Jones, on the authority of Kullúka Bhatta, gives the following translation of the verse:—

"Sons, begotten by twice-born men, on women of the class next immediately below them, wise legislators call similar, *not the same*, in class with their parents, because they are degraded to a middle rank between both, by the lowness of their mothers: they are named in order, Múrdhabhisikta,* Mahisya, and Karana or Kayastha, and their several employments are teaching military exercises; music, astronomy and keeping herds; and attendance on princes."—Sir William Jones, edited by Graves Chamney Haughton, M. N., F. R. S., Professor of Hindu Literature, East India College, London, 1825.

Manu does not mention who these offspring are, and Mr. Dutt has taken this opportunity to state that they *did not form new castes*.† But Mr. Dutt is perfectly aware that Yájnavalkya and others have supplied the omission,‡ and this fact is clearly expressed by Kullúka Bhatta in his commentary on the verse just now quoted, in the following terms:—

এতেষাঞ্চ নামানি মূর্দ্ধাবসিক্তমাহিস্যকরণানি যাজ্ঞবল্ক্য-
দিভিরুক্তানি ।

"Their names are Múrdhavasikta,§ Máhisya and Karana as stated by Yájnavalkya and others.

* Kullúka Bhatta says the name is Múrdhavasikta, *vide poste*.

† Dutt's Ancient India, Vol. III. page 149.

‡ Dutt's Ancient India, Vol. III, page 309.

§ The name as given by Yajnavalkya is Múrdhabhisikta (See Dutt's Ancient India, Vol. III, page 309). Kullúka Bhatta says it is Múrdhavasikta. In the Sahyadri Khanda of the Skanda Purana, it is thus written (See Dr. Wilson's "Indian Caste," Vol. I, page 55).

ক্ষত্রিয়াং বিপ্রসংযোগাজ্জাতো মূর্দ্ধাভিষিক্তঃ ।

রাজন্য ক্ষত্রধর্ম্মেণ অধিক স প্রকীর্তিতঃ ॥

"The offspring of a Vipra (Brahmana) on a Kshatriya woman is a Múrdhabhisikta (anointed in the head), a Rajanya (of princely descent) reckoned higher in religion than a Kshatriya"

Dr. Wilson adds—"Kullúka Bhatta supplies Múrdhavasikta, but adds to it, as apparently designations also given to this kind of offspring, Mahisya, Karana or Kayastha. The Múrdhabhisikta or Múrdhavasikta caste is held by the Brahmanas to be no longer in existence."

The names may be tabulated thus :—

<i>Father</i>	<i>Mother</i>	<i>Caste formed.</i>
Brahmana.	Kshatriya woman.	Múrdhabhisikta or Múrdhavasikta.
Kshatriya.	Vaisya woman.	Mahisya.
Vaisya	Súdra woman	Karana.

The professions of these castes or tribes are thus set forth by Kullúka Bhatta on the authority of Usana.

হস্তাশ্বরথশিক্ষা অস্ত্রধারণঞ্চ মূর্দ্ধাবসিক্তানাং নৃত্যগীতনক্কত্র-
জীবনং শস্যরক্ষা চ মাহিস্যানাং দ্বিজাতিশুশ্রূষা ধনধান্যাধ্যক্ষতা
রাত্রসেবা দুর্গাভ্যুপরক্ষা চ পারশবোগ্রকরণানামিতি ।

"A knowledge of management of elephants, horses and chariots, and the wielding of arms are the professions of the Múrdhavasiktas. Dancing, singing, astrology, and preservation of grain or corn (from destruction) are the professions of the Mahisyas. Serving the twice-born classes, supervising wealth and grain, serving the king, guarding the fort and the female apartments are the professions of the Parasava Ugra Karanas."

Kullúka thus gives a full list of professions of the Múrdhavasiktas, Máhisyas and the Karanas, which Sir William Jones has epitomized in his translation.

The Múrdhâbhisikta or Múrdhâvasikta caste is said to be no longer in existence. But from the passage in the Sahyâdri Khanda of the Skanda Purâna quoted by us, we are inclined to think, that in course of time, they either became merged in the Kshatriyas, or still exist as a high class Kshatriyas under a different name.

Nor can the Máhisya caste be identified with any caste at present existing in Bengal. Mr. Risley, in his "Tribes and Castes of Bengal," mentions a dancing and musician caste of Eastern Bengal called Nar, Nat, Nartak, or Natak, whom Dr. Wise identifies with the Brahmanical Kathak of Hindustan. The Natas themselves "claim to be the offspring of Bharadvâja Muni and a dancing girl, and asserts that the Ganak Brâhmanas are sprung from a son of the same holy man." The Nar boys when young are taught dancing, but on reaching manhood they become musicians and attend on dancing girls (Bâi) who are usually Mahomedans. If they have no ear for music, they become cultivators or shop-keepers. We are not certain that the Nars represent the Máhisyas of Manu, but the incidences of music and dancing, of cultivation, and of the *ganaks* (astrologers) having the same progenitor, as the Nars, are worthy of consideration in determining who these Nars actually are.

The Karanas are pretty numerous in Bengal and are known by the appellation of Karana Káyasthas, or simply Káyasthas. In the next chapter we shall consider the history and social status of this class of people.

THE KARANAS OR KAYASTHAS.

We have seen before that the Karanas are born of a Vaisya father and Súdra mother, and thus, according to Manu's law, they occupy a position higher than the Súdras, but lower than the Vaisyas* (Manu, Chap. X, V. 6.) Their position is therefore midway between the two. On this ground, perhaps, Raghunandana has called the Káyasthas of Bengal *Satsúdras*; before his time they were known simply as *Súdras*.

In the Amarakosha it is said that অচিণ্ডলাভু সংকীর্ণা অশ্বষ্ঠ-
করণাদয়ঃ “all (classes of people) from Ambathas (Vaidyas) Karanas, &c., down to the Chandálas are of mixed origin.” And Amara Sinha† has expressly said that the offspring of a Vaisya father and a Súdra mother belongs to Karana caste, thus corroborating Yajnavalkya and others. All the Dharma Shástras agree in stating that the offspring of a Vaisya father by a Súdra mother belongs to the Karana caste (শূদ্রাবিশোঃ স্ততঃ করণঃ) The Commentator Bharata Mallik has explained that the Karanas, by adopting the profession of writing, have received the appellation of Káyasthas—“করণে লিপিবৃত্তিকঃ কায়স্থ ইতি খ্যাতঃ।ঃ” And in every case in which the Pandits of Bengal have given their opinions regarding the Káyasthas, they have unanimously admitted that the Karana born of a Vaisya father and a Súdra mother afterwards received the appellation of Káyastha.

All the authorities quoted by us prove conclusively that the Karanas and Káyasthas are identical people, that they belong to the mixed class, that they are of Aryan descent, occupying a medial position between the Vaisyas and the Súdras, and that

* Kullúka Bhatta thus explains the social status of the Karanas:—

তান্ মাতৃহীনজাতীয়ভ্রদোষেণ গহিতান্ পিতৃসদৃশান্ নতু
পিতৃসজাতীয়ান্ আহঃ। পিতৃসদৃশগ্রহণান্নাতুজাতৈরুৎকৃষ্টাঃ পিতৃ-
জাতিতো নিকৃষ্টাজেয়া।

“Manu and others have said that as they (*i.e.*, the Múrdhavasiktas, the Mahisya and the Karanas) are blamed on account of the low class to which their mothers belong, they are similar to, but not of the same class with, their fathers. It is to be understood that when they are accepted as similar to their fathers, they are higher in position than the class to which their mothers belong, but lower than the class to which their fathers belong.”

† Amara Sinha was one of the nine gems of the court of Vikramáditya the Great, who flourished about 56 years before the commencement of the Christian era. But Mr. Dutt places that monarch “in the sixth (or possibly in the fifth) century A. D.” (See *Dutt's Ancient India*, vol. III, pp. 211—216.) Amara's lexicography is read by all scholars of the Sanskrit language, and is always considered an authority in deciding doubtful points in Manu and other Dharma Shástra writers.

their employment in one word is attendance on princes. Serving the twice-born classes is, indeed, mentioned by Kullúka as one of the duties or employments of the Karanas, but it may be remarked that under the social law of the Hindus it is a duty incumbent on all classes of people below the rank of Vaisyas.

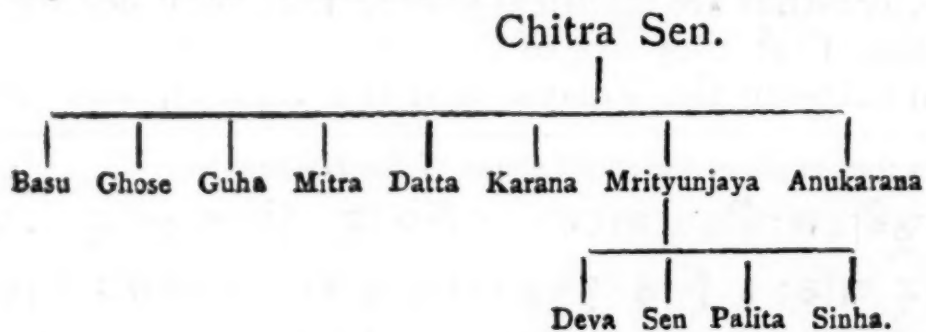
We will now consider how the Káyasthas are treated of in the various Puránas, some of which are no doubt of very modern dates, and in the writings of some living authors.

Pandit Lalmohan in his "Sambandha Nirnaya" has quoted (apparently from the *Sabdakalpadruma* of Sir Rájá Rádhákanta Deva Bahadur) thirteen lines from the Jati-Mala of the Agni Purána, showing that Súdra Mani, who sprang from the feet of Brahmá, was the progenitor of the Káyasthas. The several branches of the Káyastha families are thus traced from Súdra Mani :—

Súdra Mani	...	... from Brahmá's feet.
Híma	...	... son.
Pradípa	...	... grandson.
Káyastha	...	... great grandson.

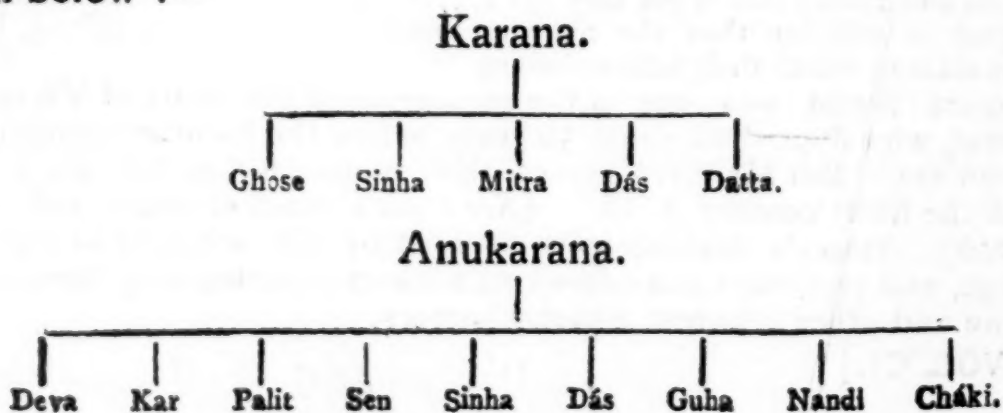
Chitrugupta Chitra Sen Vichitra.

Of the three sons of Káyastha, Chitrugupta was employed as a writer in the court of Dharma Ráj in the heavens, Vichitra went down to reside in the Nag-lóka, while Chitra Sen lived on earth and multiplied his race. The various branches of the Káyasthas are thus traced from Chitra Sen.



And a multitude of families sprang up afterwards.

Pandit Lalmohan goes beyond this and gives details of the families which sprang up from Karana and Anukarana as shown below :—



This account of the origin and multiplication of the Káyasthas left nothing to be desired, for it gave them a chance of a claim to be the only pure Súdras on earth, having descended from Súdra Mani, and having for their forefather a person named Káyastha. But unfortunately the passages quoted by the Pandit are interpolated passages, engrafted on certain manuscript copies of the Agni Purána, through the influence or exertion of some persons interested in the welfare of the Káyasthas, at a time when the aim of the Káyasthas themselves was to purge off the stain of a mixed origin and secure for themselves a pure one. These passages do not occur in the Agni Purána edited by the late Dr. Rájendralála Mitra and published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. We may, therefore, dismiss the alleged account of the Káyasthas from Súdra Mani as spurious.

But Pandit Lalmohan is correct in stating that the Karanas and the Káyasthas are one and the same class of people having sprung from the same stock, though, of course, not from Súdra Mani.

Mr. R. C. Dutt in his History of Civilization in Ancient India has the following remarks regarding the Káyasthas :—

“ Káyasthas find no mention in Manu, because the practice of appointing scribes for every law court and public office did not generally prevail in the Buddhist Period. In the Pauranik Period the scribes were already a numerous and influential body, attended judges in court, attested documents, and performed all the clerical work connected with the administration of law. Not unoften they were engaged in more ambitious duties, and were appointed by kings to administer finances, raise taxes, keep the accounts of the State, and perform all the duties which devolve on a finance minister in the modern day. We read in a dramatic work called the Mrichchhakati (toy cart), that a Káyastha or record-keeper attended the judge in court ; and Kahlana in his history of Kashmir frequently speaks of Kayasthas as accountants and tax-gatherers and financiers under kings. They soon incurred the wrath of the priests, for they raised their taxes from all and exempted none ; and we accordingly find that no epithets are too strong or too vile to be applied to their profession ! Passing over such pardonable ebullitions of the priestly tax-payer's anger, we are grateful to learn from passages in the Dharma Shástras of the Pauranik Period how the profession arose in India, and what its original duties were. It is probable that the class was recruited mainly from the people—the Vaisyas ; Bráhmanas would scarcely condescend to take up such appointments, and Súdras had not the necessary qualification.* After

* Here and elsewhere we have stated that Káyasthas are descended from the ancient Vaisyas. A controversy is going on since many years past, and reasons have been advanced to show that Káyasthas are descended from Kshatriyas. We have not entered into the merits of this controversy, and we are unable to give an opinion on the subject. Our main contention is that Káyasthas are not Súdras, nor the product of a hybrid mixture of castes, that they are the sons of the ancient Aryan population in India and have formed a separate caste, because they have embraced a separate profession. Whether they are descended from Aryan Kshatriyas or from Aryan Vaisyas is a question of minor importance. It is possible that their ranks have been mainly recruited from the Kshatriya stock, and that poor relations of kings gladly accepted the posts of accountants and record-keepers in the royal courts. We are informed that to the present day the period of impurity for Káyasthas in Northern India, on the death of relations, is the same as is prescribed for Kshatriyas.

the Moslem conquest the profession was formed into an inviolable and distinct caste."—*Dutt's Ancient India, Vol. III, pp. 310–312.*

It appears from the extract quoted that, in Mr. Dutt's opinion, the Káyasthas before the Moslem conquest were not a separate caste, but a number of people recruited mainly from the Vaisyas, and possibly mainly from the Kshatriyas who attended judges in court and were appointed by kings to administer finances, raise taxes, &c. In other words, they had the monopoly of the covenanted and uncovenanted service in the State, and their number, therefore, must have been limited according to the requirements of the public service. Those who held appointments under the State were called Káyasthas, while their kinsmen and relations were not Káyasthas, but either Vaisyas or Kshatriyas, and when they left the service or were dismissed for any fault, they ceased to be Káyasthas. But whether in service or out of service they were by caste either Vaisyas or Kshatriyas, but never Súdras or people of mixed caste. For several centuries the Káyasthas, or in other words, public servants of the description given by Mr. Dutt, holding the profession of Káyastha, acted on the theatre of the State and at home, or on retirement, were partly Vaisyas, that is, Sadgopas, several classes of Vaniks, Tantuváyas, Karma-káras, potters; &c., and partly Kshatriyas. And after the conquest of the country by the Moslems (about 1204 A. D. or 1198 A. D.*) all the members of the public service, partly consisting of several classes of Vaisyas and partly of poor relations of kings (Hindu kings were then either dethroned or put to death) who were hitherto known by their professional title 'Kayastha,' were separated from their relations and "formed into an inviolable and distinct caste." Does Mr. Dutt actually hold this view, and will our Káyastha brethren accept the position which Mr. Dutt has advocated for them? Is not Mr. Dutt's theory an insult to the Káyastha community of Bengal? Does he not represent them as a heterogeneous mass, consisting of people of all sorts, tied together, seven hundred years ago, for the purpose of forming a new caste—Káyastha—which was originally the name of a profession? Mr. Dutt stands forth as the champion of the Káyasthas, proclaiming that they are neither Súdras nor the "product of a hybrid mixture of castes," and then, by starting a groundless theory of his own imaginative brain, leaves them, like a bad general, to their fate. Mr. Dutt ignores Manu's theory and ridicules it as if the great legislator's object was to promulgate a fantastic theory—a lie—a mere gossamer—having no foundation at all, but himself delights in propounding theories of his own which

* See Dutt's *Ancient India*, vol. III, page 247.

have never been advanced before or accepted.* Mr. Dutt does not hesitate to accept what a Megasthenes, an Alberuni, or a

* Mr. R. C. Dutt is always unique in all his theories. In the matter of chronology he has cut a very ridiculous figure. He says that "the Ramayana is long posterior to the Mahabharata"; in other words the wars recorded in the great epic of Vyasa took place long before the wars which Ramachandra conducted against Ravana, monarch of Lanka, as narrated by Valmiki; so the author of the Mahabharata must have lived prior to Valmiki. Every student of Sanskrit literature knows that Valmiki was the father of Sanskrit poetry, and the first metrical stanza—

মা নিষাদ প্রতিষ্ঠাং ভ্রমগমা শাস্তীসমা ।

যং ক্রৌঞ্চমিথুনাদেকমবধী কামমোহিতং ॥

that flowed from his lips is a proof of the priority of the Ramayana over the Mahabharata. There are evidences, both internal and external, which conclusively prove that the Ramayana is anterior to the Mahabharata. This is not the proper place to carry on a discussion of this sort, but we exhort our readers to read the learned dissertation on the Ramayana and Mahabharata by the late Akshaya Kumara

Datta in his "ভারতবর্ষীয় উপাসক সম্প্রদায়," or "The Religious Sects of the Hindus," Part II, pages 78 *et seq.* A writer or scholar who has the temerity to place the Mahabharata prior to the Ramayana, does not deserve any attention or regard. Then his absurd allusion to the observation and record of the solstitial points to fix the date of the Vedas, is as ridiculous as his theory of Ramayana and Mahabharata. His dates are more problematical and theoretical than chronological, and on these unreliable dates he argues with all the subtleties of a logician to place before his readers absurd conclusions. He follows the foot-prints of some European scholars, who would not allow more than 6,000 years as the age of the world, within which period all the events narrated in the whole curriculum of Sanskrit literature must range. We here quote for his enlightenment the following lines from the article—"The Original Inhabitants of India," published in the *Calcutta Review* of July 1894, pp. 114 and 115.

"The word Chaldean leads us to the question of chronology. We find Dr. Oppert writing (page 336): 'In summing up the evidence derived from the Biblico-Chaldean account of the Deluge, assuming it to have been local and to have extended only over Mesopotamia and the contiguous countries, the Indian description of it must either have emanated from direct communications made by the descendants of survivors, or from reports which events of such magnitude necessarily produce. As the Aryans had not yet entered India at such an early date, Manu could not have been in India, nor could the ark have landed on the Himalaya, or elsewhere in this country.'"

This passage which illustrates the chronological tendencies of Dr. Oppert's work better than any other, contains three assumptions: first, that the Biblico-Chaldean deluge and Manu's deluge refer to the same event, while exactly the contrary has been held by a majority of scholars, and we know that there have been many deluges in the history of the world. Secondly, it is assumed that there is some evidence for the date of the Biblico-Chaldean deluge, a rather misleading phrase, as the Biblical and Chaldean dates differ enormously, the one being some two thousand five hundred years before our era; the other about forty thousand years before it. Thirdly, the statement that the Aryans had not yet entered India at such an early date—whether four or forty thousand years ago, we are not told—is open to this objection: it assumes what date the Aryans did enter India—an assumption which is exactly contrary to the facts, as we have far less knowledge of the period when the Aryans entered India, than of the period when the Toltecs entered Mexico; or when the Maoris entered New Zealand, and this fact of our ignorance cannot be too clearly realised.

We are led to conclude, therefore, that Dr. Oppert does not sufficiently realise the difficulties of ethnical evidence and ethnical proof; and, further, that he does not sufficiently realise our complete ignorance as to the date of the beginnings of India's life; nor the fact that all the views put forward by the early schools of

Fa Hian has to say respecting the Hindus, but deliberately ignores the statements made by his own countrymen, who had neither motive nor interest to represent facts otherwise than they actually were. We have shown before, on authorities, which neither Mr. Dutt, nor any body else can question, that the Ugra Karanas, by adopting the profession of scribes, afterwards assumed the name "Káyastha." It may be true that the term "Káyastha," as used by Yajnavalkya in the same category with thieves and robbers, meant a profession and not a separate caste, but this ground does not warrant the conclusion that the Káyasthas were mainly recruited from Vaisyas or Kshatriyas, or that they formed a separate caste after the Moslem conquest of the country. Why not accept what Amara Sinha, Bharata Mallik and Kullúka Bhatta have said, *viz.* that the Karanas, by adopting the profession of the scribes, assumed the name 'Káyastha' and were entrusted with appointments of trust and position under the State? What is the necessity for starting a new theory, when authorities in ages past have already given a satisfactory solution of the origin of the Káyasthas? We can hardly persuade ourselves to believe that Mr. Dutt has not seen the passages quoted by us, defining clearly the true status of the Karanas or Káyasthas, but it is surprising that he has not even alluded to them. The idea of the Karana having descended from a Vaisya father and a Súdra mother, and the same Karana afterwards assuming the title of Káyastha, may be repugnant to Mr. Dutt, but is a truth not to be shirked.

Mr. Dutt's theory that the Káyasthas formed a separate caste after the Moslem conquest is historically inconsistent. That the Káyasthas existed as a separate caste in the time of Adisur, and that Ballála conferred Kulinism on the descendants of the five Káyasthas who originally came to Bengal with the five Brahmanas as their servants from Kanouj,

orientalism were based upon a quite erroneous tradition of the recentness of the beginning of the whole human race, a tradition which we have left behind long ago. Once we realise the enormous antiquity of man, we may come to recognise the possibility of an enormous antiquity for some or many of the Indian peoples. And, without a realisation of the enormous antiquity of man, we shall be able to form no sound conclusions on the evidence as to the possible antiquity of any single race or group of races. We have dwelt at some length on these two questions—ethical evidence and chronology with reference to Dr. Oppert's book—just because we believe by far the greater part of Dr. Oppert's book to be excellent and enduring work; work of such value as to mark the beginning of a new era of Indian orientalism, founded on direct and comprehensive study of the Indian peoples themselves. The work of the two great schools of Indian orientalism, whose results we have briefly touched on, is marred by these two errors—deficient ethnical sense and a deficient sense of the enormous antiquity of man. And the confusions springing from these two radical errors have lasted more than a century.

is historically true, and has been admitted by Mr. Dutt in his *Ancient India*, Vol. III, page 246. Mr. Dutt has only to refer to the genealogical tables of the Káyasthas to be convinced of the utter groundlessness of his theory.*

Mr. Dutt disposes of the theory of the Káyasthas being descended from Kshatriyas by abstaining from giving any opinion on the question, but cites the mourning period of the Káyasthas of Northern India being the same as that prescribed for the Kshatriyas.† In other words, he argues a possibility of the descent of the Káyasthas from Kshatriyas. He is like the drowning man eager to catch a straw to save himself from a watery grave. We are not prepared to enter into the question of the mourning period of the Káyasthas of Northern India, but it is a fact that the Káyasthas of Bengal have their mourning period as prescribed for the Súdras. If the Káyasthas who came to Bengal from Kanouj were really Kshatriyas, they would not have easily given up the twelve days period and submitted themselves to the penance of thirty days. In other words, they would have loudly protested against being included in the same category with the Súdras. They would have asserted their vested right then to claim their thread, if they had had it in their previous habitat (Kanouj). Further, it has not been shown that, when they came to Bengal, they had their mourning period of twelve days, and that subsequently, by some law or enactment, the period was lengthened to thirty days. It would have been an easy affair for the Káyasthas in the time of Ballála to have been recognized as Kshatriyas, had they really been Kshatriyas; at any rate they would have been able to take the first place

* Dr. Rajendralala Mitra writes thus :— ' My date of Adisur is founded upon the genealogical tables of the Káyasthas now current in this country. These tables give twenty-seven generations from the time of Adisur, and, at three generations to a century, the time of that prince is carried to 964 of the Christian era.'—*Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, 1865, pp. 139, 140.

† As already pointed out in a note to a previous portion of this article, the period of mourning is no test of caste. In Bengal the Vaishnavas observe the ten days' period like the Bráhmanas : in Hindustan many low class people observe the twelve days period. But these rules and usages of the Hindus differ in different provinces. Their idolatry and religious observances, though substantially the same, have different aspects and conditions at different places. In Bengal the Durga Puja is celebrated by the worship of a *pratima* (image), whereas in the North-West it is performed without any image. The Hindustanis in Calcutta celebrate the Kartik Puja in pomp and splendour, whereas in the North-West they have no such Puja at all. Many new usages have been engrafted on the marriage rites, though, of course the main ones as laid down in the Shástras are preserved. It would be interesting to shew the differences of many Hindu customs and festivals as they existed, and as they exist now in the North-Western Provinces, Behar and Bengal. Suffice it to say, that such extraneous matters vary everywhere. Mourning remains the same, whether it be emblemized by wearing black or tying a piece of black crape to a prominent part of the waistcoat, as among the Europeans, or by wearing *kacha*, and offering the distinctive *pinda* to the manes of the dead, as among the Hindus.

among the Vaisyas had they been such. They came as servants of the five Bráhmaṇas (whatever the Káyasthas of the present day say to the contrary) and they were content to be reckoned as pure Súdras, though, in fact, they held a medial position between the Vaisyas and the Súdras. Then, again, where is the tradition that the Káyasthas are descended from Kshatriyas? The entire body of the Káyasthas know that they are Súdras, and it is only a few educated or half-educated Káyasthas of the present day, who trumpet to the world that they are neither Súdras nor people of mixed origin, but that they represent the Kshatriya class in Bengal. As a sensible writer, Mr. Dutt should not have ventured an opinion without fully considering the matter. He has no business to start a theory of his own, saying that the Káyasthas are descended from Vaisyas and possibly are descended from Kshatriyas, when none of the legislators, from Yajñavalkya down to Raghunandana, have given to the Káyasthas a position higher than that of the Súdras. When Mr. Dutt overrides the statements made by such writers as Amara Sinha, Kullúka Bhatta and Bharat Mallik, his pleadings for the Káyasthas will be a cry in the wilderness, and will not be accepted by any community in Bengal. All the Ghatak writers of the Káyastha genealogical tables, which have come down to us, unanimously treat the Káyasthas as Súdras, and Mr. Dutt, like the French theorist who wanted to explore the continent of Africa in a balloon, must chalk out for himself a new path to be an object of laughter to the public.

We next come to consider the article 'Káyastha' in the Visva Kosha.* In the opinion of the editor of the work, the Káyasthas are not Súdras, but are members of one of the twice-born classes. The following passages are quoted to prove the position :—

"A document is said to be attested by the king when it has been prepared in the king's office by the Káyastha appointed by the king, and marked by the hand (or signature) of the head of the office."† Vishnu, 7-2.

চাটতক্ষর দুর্কৃত্ত মহাসাহসি কাদিভিঃ ।

পীড়্যমানা প্রজারক্ষণে কায়স্থৈশ্চ বিশেষতঃ ॥

Yajñavalkya, I, 335. ‡

"The king should protect his people from deceivers, thieves, violent men, robbers and others, and especially from Káyasthas."

কায়স্থৈঃ রাজসম্বন্ধাৎ প্রতিবিষ্ণুভিঃ । "Káyasthas have much influence

* A voluminous lexicography of the nature of an encyclopædia in Bengali, edited by Nagendranath Basu.

† This passage is also quoted by Mr. R. C. Dutt in his "Ancient India," Vol. III, page 313, to prove that the word "Káyastha" meant nothing more than a scribe or a muharrir.

‡ Mr. Dutt has this passage marked I, 336. See Dutt's *Ancient India*, Vol. III, page 312.

owing to their connection (on account of service) with the king.—(Commentary on *Yājñavalkya's* text quoted above by *Sulapani*).

কায়স্থঃ গণকালেখকশ্চ তৈঃ পীড়্যমানা বিশেষতো
রক্ষৎ তেষাং রাজবল্লভতয়াতিমায়াবিদ্বাচ্ছ দুর্নিবারহাৎ ।

Mitakshara.

Kāyasthas i. e., computers and scribes. Kings should especially protect the subjects from their oppression, for the *Kāyasthas*, being favourites of the king, are full of guiles and are irresistible.

These passages and one from *Vrihat Parásara* (10-10) clearly show, according to the editor, that in ancient times the *Kāyasthas* were known as State servants and scribes. We partially agree with the writer in his opinion. But when the editor pushes his argument further, and says that, as there is no proof, either in the *Smṛiti* or in the *Purāṇas*, of *Súdras* having been ever employed as scribes and readers in the king's court hall, the *Kāyasthas* were not *Súdras*, and, that if they were not *Súdras*, they must have belonged to the twice-born class, we are bound to record our dissent from him on account of the lameness and unsoundness of the argument and the illogical conclusion arrived at. It is true that the *Kāyasthas* were largely employed in State service as scribes and readers and allowed to sit in the court hall of the king, but it does not follow, as a matter of course, that all the scribes and readers were *Kāyasthas*. People of the *Súdra* class were also sometimes appointed as such, if found capable of discharging their duties. The king's court hall was a hall for the whole nation, where justice was meted out, irrespective of any caste, or creed, or colour, the only distinction being the reservation of certain privileges in favour of the twice-born classes.—The *Vaiśyas*, of course, would not accept the posts of scribes and muharrirs consistent with their position, but we cannot suppose that all *Vaiśyas* were engaged in commerce or trade or agriculture, and that there were not at least a few of them who would not gladly accept such posts. Even persons outside the pale of Hinduism were sometimes allowed a place in the king's court hall, not to speak of the *Súdras*, who formed the fourth pedestal of the Hindu Society. To illustrate our position, we may say that the *Mahārāja Duryadhona* had in his service a *Yavana* (a Greek) named *Purochana*, who was a confidante of the monarch, and *Chandragupta* allowed, or was forced to allow, *Megasthenes* a place in his court. These facts show that the kings were guided more by the exigencies of the service than by predilection for any particular caste. It was no doubt a policy in, ancient times to put down the *Súdras* as much as possible otherwise they might “throw the whole world into confusion.”

(See *Manu*, chapter VIII, verse 418.) But it does not follow that Súdras of good behaviour and experience were not sometimes allowed a place in the king's court hall. Indeed, we find that Manu permitted persons of the twice-born classes to receive pure knowledge, such as *Garuda-Vidya* or *Sarpa-mantra*, from a Súdra (chapter II, verse 238). Further, he enjoins that a Súdra is entitled to respect if he has entered the tenth decade of his age (chapter II, verse 137.) He was as careful for the life of a Súdra as for that of a Bráhmaṇa, or a Kshatriya, or a Vaisya.* That the Súdras were a power in the State, is quite patent from verse 418 of chapter VIII of the *Manáva Dharma Shástra*, otherwise Manu would not have assigned the reason for putting them down; and if they were a power, is it unnatural to suppose that a few of them at least were sometimes allowed a place in the court hall? In the various departments of the State, Súdras, no doubt, had a fair share of service.

Babu Nagendranáth's argument that, if the Káyasthas were not Súdras, they must have belonged to the twice-born class, is fallacious, as it is opposed to fact. The fact is that the people of the Karana caste were largely admitted into the State service, and that, while employed as scribes and muharrirs, they were called Káyasthas. Kullúka's clear statement of the duties of the Karanas (ধনধান্যাধ্যক্ষতা রাজসেবা দুর্গাভ্যুপরক্ষা চ পারশবোৎকরণানাম্) settles the point conclusively. And the commentator, Bharata Mallik's statement (করণঃ লিপিবৃত্তিকঃ কায়স্থ ইতি খ্যাতঃ) proves beyond a question that the Karanas and the Káyasthas are identical people.

The editor of the *Visva Kosha* then quotes the following sentence from the commentary of Medhatithi on verse 3,† Chapter VIII of the *Manáva Dharma Shástra*.

রাজা গ্রহণ্যশাসনান্যেক কায়স্থহস্তলিখিতান্যেব প্রমাণী ভাষি ।

* "Whenever the death of a Súdra, of a Vaisya, of a Kshatriya, or of a Bráhmaṇa would be (caused) by a declaration of the truth, a falsehood may be spoken, for such (falsehood) is preferable to the truth."—*Manu*, Chapter VIII, verse 104.

† We quote the verse itself here for the information of our readers :—

প্রত্যহং দেশদৃষ্টৈশ্চ শাস্ত্রদৃষ্টৈশ্চ হেতুভিঃ ।

অষ্টাদশম্ব মার্গেণ নিবন্ধানি পৃথক্ পৃথক্ ॥

"Each day let him (the king) decide causes one after another, under the eighteen principal titles of law, by arguments and rules drawn from local usages and from written codes."—*Sir W. Jones*.

Kullúka Bhatta, whose commentary on *Manu* has superseded the commentaries of Medhatithi, Govindarama and others, does not go beyond *Manu*, like Medhatithi, and never discusses any matter not directly or indirectly alluded to in the text.

"Deed of gift of Brahmottara land by a king, which is in the hand-writing of a Káyastha, is to be accepted as valid."

He further quotes the following verse from Mitakshara :—

সন্ধিবিশ্বহকারী তু ভবেদ্যন্তস লেখকঃ ।

স্বয়ং রাজা সমাদিষ্টঃ সলিখেদ্রাজশাসনম্ ॥

Acharadhyaya, v. 319.

"The minister of peace and war, who is the writer of the deed of gift (of Brahmottara lands) shall write down the edicts under the king's orders."

And from these two passages the editor sums up that the Káyasthas used to write down king's orders (as regards deed of gifts) ; that the writers of these orders were the ministers of peace and war ; that the post of a minister of peace and war was the exclusive privilege of a Kshatriya, and hence the conclusion is that the Káyasthas and the Kshatriyas are identical. The editor, in his zeal for securing Kshatriyaism to the people of the caste to which he himself belongs, has made a bungle of the whole matter. The passage quoted from Medhatithi shows that the deed of gift which was in the hand-writing of a Káyastha, was valid. And the passage from the Mitakshara proves nothing beyond the fact that the writer of the edicts of such gifts was the minister of peace and war. The Royal mandate, or edict, was drafted by the minister of peace and war, and the Káyastha, as clerk, attached to the office of the minister of peace and war, simply faired out, or had such mandate or edict engraved, for the purpose of giving effect to it. Even granting that the minister of peace and war, or the Secretary, was a Káyastha under the Hindu kings, it does not follow that he belonged to the Kshatriya caste, for there is not a single authoritative statement in the whole range of the Dharma Shástras, either ancient or modern, or in the writings of any ancient or modern legislator to the effect that the Káyasthas are the same as the Kshatriyas, or in other words, that the Kshatriya blood runs through the veins of the Káyasthas. We have nowhere seen, either in Manu or in any other Dharma Shástra, that the Kshatriyas were appointed as writers and accountants. Their duties are clearly laid down by Manu* and other sages, and those duties do not at all include ministerial service or clerkship. In times of distress a Kshatriya might live by the acts of a Vaisya under certain restrictions (Manu, chapter X, verse. 83, *et seq.*) ; but even then he is not enjoined to take service as a clerk or accountant. The passages quoted in the Visva Kosha distinctly speak of Káyasthas as a separate class, and do not mention either directly or indirectly that

* See Manu, Chapter VII which treats on Government, or on the Military class (Rájdharma).

they are Kshatriyas ; and the editor is certainly not warranted or justified in identifying the one with the other. All posts of a military nature under the State were conferred on Kshatriyas, while the posts of treasurers, accountants, scribes, muhurrirs, sarkárs, guards of forts and of female apartments, &c., were given to the Káyasthas. That the Káyasthas were largely employed under the Hindu kings, is unquestionable, and that some of them rose to distinction and obtained the highest posts under the State, may be admitted, but these facts cannot be argued to prove that they are identical with the Kshatriyas, or to blot out their mixed origin, which has been admitted for thousands of years, and which is still admitted by the whole community of Bengal, including the Káyasthas themselves, and only disputed by half-a-dozen half-educated, vain-glorious Káyasthas of the present generation. Rájá Sir Rádhákanta Deva Bahadur, the model Káyastha, whose memory is still cherished by all classes of the Hindu community, and who always spent his time in the assembly of the Pandits in investigating the Shástras, never declared himself to be a Kshatriya, but ever acknowledged that he was a Súdra. The editor of the Visva Kosha, instead of being able to quote any authoritative statement to the effect that the Káyasthas are descended of the Kshatriyas, has had recourse to a passage in Medhatithi, and to another in Mitakshará, of dubious interpretation, to prove that the Káyasthas are Kshatriyas. He deliberately ignores tradition, carefully omits to quote Amara Sinha, Kullúka Bhatta and Bharata Mallik, and argues with all the subtlety of a lawyer, that the Káyasthas are Kshatriyas.*

The editor of the Visva Kosha dogmatically asserts that

* We quote below for the information of our readers some extracts regarding the Káyasthas :—

“ I believe that in the present day the Káyasthas arrogate to themselves the position of first among commoners, or first of the Súdras, but their origin is involved in some mystery. No one appears to know much about them, the sacred writers and bards make no mention of such a class, and they have not, that I can hear of, any annals of their own. They say they came into Bengal in the train of the Bráhmanas from Kanouj introduced by Adisura, but this does not account for their origin. The fact seems to be that as organised systems of Government were established, a demand for a new class of scribes arose, with duties that neither Bráhmanas nor Vaisyas had time, or thought it consistent with their dignity, to attend to, and a fresh dive was made into the great Súdra element, and a new order eliminated. Intelligent Káyasthas make no pretensions to be other than Súdras. From their appearance we might say that the first selection was made of people with weak bodies and strong intellect, of small courage but great cunning, and that physical beauty was of less consequence than sharpness of wit. However, they worked their way out of obscurity, and are now boldly in the foreground as a well-defined and very influential class. They are largely employed as clerks in Government Offices, and attain much higher official positions ; they supply accountants to the landed gentry, and the Native Bar opens a wide field for their peculiar talents. The potent pen which has thus elevated them is their favourite object of worship. * * * * *

“ Having established themselves as a distinct class, the Káyasthas looked about

the Karanas and the Káyasthas are separate classes of people, without adducing anything like a proof. His assertion, which is opposed to facts and traditions, is unworthy of acceptance. The authorities we have quoted before prove beyond a doubt that the Karanas and the Káyasthas are identical people. In a foot-note to the translation of the inscriptions on a copper-plate grant of Dharma Pála, discovered in November 1893 at Khalimpur, near Gauda, in the district of Maldah, the discoverer and the translator, Babu Umesh Chandra Batavyal, the statutory civilian, writes thus:—

“The original of this is *Sakaranan*. *Karana* was but another name of Káyastha, the great caste of writers and accountants under the Hindu kings, and of Patwaris of our own times, from whose oppressive dealings and sharp practices, the kings were particularly enjoined to protect their subjects. Thus, we have an ancient text:—

for a new pedigree and found one that was vacant at the time, and suited them exactly.” That is, the Káyasthas selected Lálá Chitragupta as their ancestor.—Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal, by Edward Tuite Dalton, C. S. I., Calcutta, 1872.

The above extract shows that about a quarter of a century ago, the Káyasthas were content with calling themselves the first among the Súdras, but the following extract shows that now they claim to be higher than the Súdras.

“The writing castes are mainly functional, and have come into prominence with the British system of administration. In old days these were in existence, no doubt, but were kept well in subordination by the Bráhmans. For instance, Manu, whose code embodies the aspirations of the Bráhman of the revival of that religion, ordains that a Súdra, when other occupations fail, should take to writing for a living, and there are other quotations to the same effect, whilst popular proverbs, too, attest the general distrust of the man who lives by his pen. But a naturally intelligent community have lost no time in taking advantage of their opportunities, and the castes that are not merely the village scribes, as are some of those in the south of India, have not only risen in wealth, but have devoted a good deal of research and ingenuity to proving their right to Kshatriya origin. In fact, there seems to be a good deal of truth in the presumption that in Northern and Western India, at all events, the position of the writer at the courts of Native chiefs in old times was due to their left-handed connection with their patron's family. But such a connection has not been acknowledged by the rest, and one of the complaints most loudly and frequently heard from the well-born of the community is that under the present system of administration:—

“The beggar's book outworths the noble's blood,”

so that the affairs of the State are falling into the hands of castes who, in private life, are not even admitted within the portals of the social leaders of the people. Of the writing castes of this class the most important is that of the Káyasth, which is found chiefly in Bengal and the N.-W. Provinces. From the former it has emigrated into Assam, and in both it is used as synonymous with writer, and is thus recruited from the lower castes, who, as education spreads, take advantage of the term to escape from their origin. In the North-West, the caste seems to be more exclusive, but is not altogether devoted to the pen, and furnishes some proportion of the grain parchers and tailors. In the struggle for recognition in the social rank to which it aspires, the Káyasth caste does not return its full strength at the census, but the Kshatriya, under various general titles, such as Surajvansi, and so on, gives shelter to a good many. The Karan, or Mohant, of Orissa, is a caste of the same nature as the above. In the West of India we find not only the Káyasth as a strictly maintained caste, but the Prabhu, an entirely local development, though assigning to itself a Kshatriya decent. A still smaller caste goes still further in this direction, and calls itself Brahmakshatriya. None of these castes are functional, and as they are well-to-do, they have been able to maintain their position, without admixture, with writers of other origin.”—*Census of India, 1891, General Report*, by J. A. Baines, F. S. S., of the Indian Civil Service, page 204.

চাটভস্করদুর্ক, ভূমহাসাহসিকাদিভিঃ ।

পীড়ামান প্রজারক্ষণে কায়স্থেভ্যো বিশেষতঃ ॥ যাজ্ঞবল্ক্য ॥

About the identity of the *Karana* with the *Káyasthas*, it may be noted, that in social gatherings of *Káyasthas* now-a-days, it is customary first of all to salute *Bráhmanas* with the words *ব্রাহ্মণেভ্যো নমঃ* and afterwards to salute *Káyasthas* with *কায়স্থেভ্যো নমঃ* ।

Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,

Vol. LXIII, Part I, No. 1, 1894.

Baboo Umesh Chandra Batavyal says what is accepted throughout the country by all classes of people, including the *Káyasthas* themselves. The *Dakshin Radhi Káyasthas* of the present day, who arrogate themselves as superior in rank to the other classes of the *Káyastha* community of Bengal, find it in their own interest to deny the position.

The editor of the *Visva Kosha* is not satisfied with anything short of *Kshatriyaism* of the *Káyasthas*. *Raghunandana*, the Lawgiver of *Nadia*, and, in fact, of whole Bengal, calls the *Káyasthas* of Bengal *Satsúdras*, and the editor insinuates that perhaps *Raghunandana* was guided, in his decision in the matter, by seeing the *Dharaní Kosha*, in which *Masísadeva* (*Chitrugupta*) was spoken of as a *Satsúdra*, and as it is nowhere said, either in the *Dharma Shástras* or in the *Puránas*, that *Chitrugupta* was a *Satsúdra*, the assertion of *Dharaní*, and consequently, the decision of *Raghunandana*, which must have been based on that assertion, must be dismissed as unworthy of acceptance. We simply ask the editor the following question,—“Were not the *Káyasthas* known as *Súdras* in *Raghunandana*’s time? And if so, why?” The retort will perhaps be—“No one in *Raghunandana*’s time, including *Raghunandana* himself, knew the real origin of the *Káyasthas*, and every one, through ignorance, called them *Súdras*!!” The editor further remarks that, should any one say that *Raghunandana* called the *Káyasthas* *Satsúdras*, according to the local custom, or according to their polished manners, it must be borne in mind, that as *Smriti* is to be rejected when it goes against the *Veda*, so is *Desáchára* (local custom) also to be rejected when it is opposed to the *Smriti*, and as, according to the *Smriti*, the *Káyasthas* belong to the twice-born class, the *Desáchára* or local custom must not prevail. In other words, *Raghunandana* wrote what he did not know about!!*

* The article ‘*Káyastha*’ in the *Visva Kosha* is not accepted as correctly representing the true status of the *Káyasthas*. Facts and traditions are deliberately trampled under foot, and unsound and illogical reasonings adduced to prove their *Kshatriya* origin. About 99 per cent. of the whole *Káyastha* community still believe that they are *Súdras*. How differently the article would have been written had the editor been a *Bráhmana* or a

Does the reader want to know the real reason why the Káyasthas, who, from the time of Adisur, up to the last decade, knew that they were Súdras, now try to secure for themselves a Kshatriya origin? We will unlock it. A few years ago, an article appeared in the *Education Gazette* (then conducted by the late Bhudev Mookerji, C. I. E.,) concerning the Suvarnavaniks, who were treated as a low class of people. The Suvarnavaniks strongly repudiated the unjust assertion in the *Education Gazette*, and proved conclusively that they represented the Vaisyas of good old days, boycotted by Ballála. The Káyasthas could not brook their Vaisyaism, which practically elevated their social status, and hence they began to wade through the big volumes of Sanskrit literature to find out passages which they thought would support their pretension to a Kshatriya origin. But all their efforts have proved ineffectual, for Súdras they were, and are, and will remain so for eternity, though strictly speaking, as we have seen before, their position is higher than that of the Súdras, but lower than that of the Vaisyas.

The only passages which speak directly of the Kshatriya origin of the Káyasthas, and which were not at first quoted in the 'Sabdakalpadruma' during the life-time of Rájá Sir Rádhákánta Deva Bahadur, but inserted in a subsequent edition* of the work, are those which are said to be in the chapter 'Renukámáhátmyam' of the Skanda Purána. These passages say that, after destroying Arjuna, Parasuráma vehemently pursued the Kshatriyas, who through fear of life fled in all directions. It so happened that the Rani (Queen) of Rájá Chandra Sena, who was then *enciente*, took refuge in the cottage of Dálvya Muni. Parasuráma, who pursued her thither, was very hospitably received by the saint and entertained with food and drink. Both the host and the guest were pleased with each

Vaisya. Besides, an encyclopædia, which the Visva Kosha pretends to be, is not the proper place for the ventilation of such a glaringly dubious question.

Not only has the author a new system of encyclopædia-making, but he has deliberately mutilated facts. It has been authoritatively proved by the publication of the volumes of Hedge's Diary that the name of Govindapur existed long before Job Charnock flourished in Calcutta, and the pretensions of Govindaram Mitter as the founder of Govindapur have been blown into thin air, still the author has not the courage or frankness to acknowledge that Govindaram's Govindapur is a myth, and that Govindapur of Govindaji Thákur of the Setts was the real and true name.

We have often noticed with emotion of pain how eager the editor is to give a place in his so-called encyclopædia to Káyasthas of mushroom celebrity, to the exclusion of people of real fame of other castes. The editor would have enlisted our sympathy had he either omitted, for example, the name of Feringee Kamal Basu, or edited a 'Káyastha Kosha' without disguising his real intent.

* Republished by Baradá Kanta Mitra under the patronage of Kumar Upendra Krishna Deva Bahadur.

other and each prayed of the other his heart's desire, *viz.*, Parasuráma wanted to destroy the child that was in the womb of the Rani, and Dálvya Muni begged of Parasuráma the life of the child. Parasuráma at last granted the request of the Muni on the condition that the child be called 'Káyastha, and that he should not be initiated as a Kshatriya, but expelled from the 'Kshatra-dharma'.

The passages quoted in the subsequent edition of the 'Sadbakulpadruma' are spurious and were composed by some uncrupulous Pandit under the orders of a Káyastha patriot and at his expense. Had they formed part of the original Skanda Purána, they would never have escaped the lynx-eyed Pandits of the Rájá's Sabha, all of whom were well-versed in the Pauranik lore. It is possible that these interpolated passages were engrafted in a copy of the Purána some time after the Káyasthas had received the so-called honours of Kulinism at the hands of Ballála, and transcribed from one copy to another. But the passages were not in the copy which was in the Rájá's library. The Skanda Purána, "the most voluminous of all the Puranas," is not a work in a collective form, but exists in fragments, the aggregate of which exceeds the limit of 81,100 stanzas, of which the Purána is said to consist. The Kási Khanda is a minute description of the temples of Siva in Benares, mixed with directions for worship and a variety of legends. The Utkala Khanda gives an account of the holiness of Orissa and of Jagannatha, and is no doubt a later appendage by Vaishnava writers, who thus added an account of a Vaishnava Tírtha to an eminently Saiva Purána.* We may add that an account of the Kshatriya origin of the Káyasthas has been added to this "very composite Purána" by a Pandit (or a number of Pandits) paid with the gold of the Káyasthas. But, supposing the passages are genuine, what do they signify? The child in the womb must not be permitted to be reckoned among the class his father belonged to, *i.e.*, Kshatriya, but he must live and die a Káyastha. He was not the progenitor of the Káyasthas, for the Káyasthas existed before the posthumous child, and the position and caste of the Káyasthas were known to be what they are to the present day. If the posthumous child be regarded as the real progenitor of the Káyasthas, the theory starts up a rival to Chitrugupta.

The editor of the Visva Kosha alludes to the spurious legend narrated before, and interprets the phrase 'ক্ষত্রধর্মবহিষ্কৃতः' used in one of the passages, as 'expelled from the art of war' for Purasuráma, though he spared the life of the child, would not suffer him to become a Kshatriya or one

* Dutt's "Ancient India", Vol. III, pp. 301 and 30.

skilled in the use of arms. The account might have been extended, and the 'potent pen' which a Káyastha wields might have been represented as a more destructive weapon given him by Purasuráma in lieu of a *tulwár*!

Having ascertained the true social status of the Káyasthas, we proceed to give an account of those of Bengal.

It is commonly said that the Káyasthas who inhabit Bengal proper are the descendants of the five servants who came with the five Bráhmanas at the invitation of Adisura. But this does not appear to be wholly correct. Babu Umesh Chandra Batavyal, the statutory civilian, thus writes :—

"In other words, Káyasthas must have been numerous in Bengal when Bhatta Náráyana came. Thus the tradition about the Káyasthas of Bengal being the descendants of the five Káyastha servants of the five Kannaujiá Bráhmanas now seems to be a pure myth. It may be true that Adisura invited five Bráhmanas as well as five Káyasthas from the civilized and advanced province of Kannauj, to introduce spiritual and secular reforms in Bengal, but it does not follow that at that time there were no Bráhmanas or no Káyasthas in Bengal at all."—*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LXIII, Part I, No. 1, 1894.

We fully concur in the above view. Bengal was certainly inhabited by Bráhmanas, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, Súdras, and mixed classes of people from time out of memory, or from a pre-historic period.

A few words about the Lálá Káyasthas will help the reader in estimating the true position of the Káyasthas in Bengal. The Lálás "trace their mythical parentage to Chitrágupta, the scribe or recorder of Yama, the regent of the dead, and pique themselves on being wholly distinct from the Káyasthas of Bengal."* There is no question of the writer-caste having been originally Karanas, born of Vaisya father and Súdra mother, and, having adopted the profession of scribes, they came to be styled Káyasthas, or Káyasths. Nothing can be more natural than Manu's account of the genesis of the mixed castes. Chitrágupta, Visvakarmá and other mythical persons were unknown in Manu's time. These demi-gods sprang into existence in later times, and the Bráhmanas found a ready device for screening the mixed descent of their *Yajmánas*, by proclaiming their divine origin and thus securing their priestcraft. But the divine origin avails them nothing, for no Bráhmana even takes rice touched by them, and the status of the descendants of Chitrágupta and other demi-gods is much the same as it was in the time of Manu and Yajnavalkya. It is said that Chitrágupta was invested with the sacred thread, marking the twice-born castes, and on this ground the Lálás, like the Káyasthas of Bengal, claim the right to wear this sacred symbol. The Káyasthas of

* Risley's "Tribes and Castes in Bengal", vol. I, page 443.

Bengal, more advanced in education than the Lálás, repudiate their descent from Chitrugupta, and, trampling under feet facts and traditions, proclaim themselves to have descended from a Kshatriya father. Both claim to be reckoned among the twice-born classes, and arguments are always cheap in establishing their claim. They may pass off as Kshatriyas by writing pamphlets and leaflets among foreigners who do not know much about them, or who do not care to be bothered with their real parentage, but the Hindu community will not accept them either as Kshatriyas or members of any twice-born caste.

The Lálá Káyaths are divided into the following sub-castes :—

- | | |
|--------------|---------------|
| 1. Aitháná | 7. Kulsrashta |
| 2. Amashta | 8. Máthur |
| 3. Bálmik | 9. Nigam |
| 4. Bhatnagar | 10. Saksená |
| 5. Gaur | 11. Sribástab |
| 6. Karan | 12. Surajdwaj |

Many of these names appear to have reference to localities, but No. 6 has retained the original designation of Karana.

As regards the occupation of the Lálá Káyaths the following extract from Mr. Risley's "Tribes and Castes in Bengal," Vol. I, page 452 will, no doubt, prove interesting to our readers :—

"Clerical work is believed to be the original and characteristic occupation of the caste, and an illiterate Káyasth is looked upon as a creature with no proper reason for existing. Káyasth tradition, however, puts a very liberal construction on the expression clerical work, and includes in it not merely clerkly pursuits of a subordinate character, but the entire business of managing the affairs of the country in the capacity of *dewan*, *sarbarahkar*, etc., to the ruling power. It is doubtless owing, in some measure, to this connection with former governors, that Káyasths are now in possession of considerable Zemindaris and tenures of substantial value, while comparatively few of them are to be found among the lower grades of cultivators."

We echo the statement that it is this connection with the Hindu kings which has given the Káyasthas of the present day a pretension to claim their descent from a Kshatriya father.

The Káyasthas of Bengal are divided into four classes—Uttara Rádhi, Várendra, Bangaja, and Dakshina Rádhi.

1. The Uttara Rádhi Káyasthas do not admit that they are the descendants of the five servants who accompanied the Bráhmanas from Kanauj, but trace their descent from the five Karanas* who came along with them. They repudiate Kulinism

* The following tradition is current among the Uttara Radhi Kayasthas :—

বিশ্ব পঞ্চ করণ পঞ্চ ভূতা পঞ্চ জন ।
ত্রিপঞ্চতে উপস্থিত আদিশূরের ভবন ॥

Five Brahmanas, five Karanas, and five servants—altogether three-times-five persons—arrived at the palace of Adisura.

Pandit Lalmohan denies the correctness of this tradition and attempts to prove, from passages in the *Káyastha-kula-Dipiká*, that the five Karanas are not mentioned

conferred by Ballála, and do not append the word 'dasa' before their family title, like the Dakshina Rádhi Káyasthas. Having had their habitat in the northern part of the country called Rádhá, they are known as Uttara Rádhis. *Drishtibhoga* দৃষ্টিভোগ* was prevalent among them.

Pandit Lalmohan thinks that the Uttara Rádhis are either Bangaja Káyasthas, or that they came in after time to Bengal from the North-West, or that they are descendants of the five original servants who came to Bengal at the time of Adisura, and, having acquired much wealth, have disowned their blood connection with the Dakshina Rádhis and dropped the appendage 'dasa' from their name. The Pundit makes every sort of suggestion which it is possible to make without being able to come to anything like a solution. It is noteworthy that the Uttara Rádhis admit that they are Karana Káyasthas† and do not, like the Dakshina Rádhis, sometimes call themselves Sat-súdras, sometimes Vaisyas and sometimes Kshatriyas. In our

therein. But these passages were recorded only about three or four hundred years ago, and cannot be cited to prove the tradition false. The tradition appears in the books of Ghataks of the Uttara Radhi Kayasthas, and we have no ground for doubting its authenticity. The Uttara Radhi Kayasthas claim to be the descendants of the five Karanas, and therefore a little higher than the Dakshin Radhis in the social scale.

* Drishti = eye, and bhoga = feast or entertainment. When at a social gathering all the relatives and kinsmen invited have assembled together, a display of all sorts of food prepared by the host is made before the guests, who must say that the preparation has been made to their satisfaction. The guests do not partake of the food, which is then removed from their presence, but the host is absolved from obligation to the guests in the same manner as if the latter had eaten heartily of it.

This queer custom has been abolished by the Kulin Uttara Radhi Kayasthas of Kandi, the head-quarter of the first class families and of the family of Ganga-Govinda Sing, now represented by the Rajas of Paikpara. The Suvarnavaniks had no custom of feasting their guests on the wedding night. This caste was the only caste that proved an exception to the general rule. Economy was, no doubt, the cause of this peculiar usage, which often proved a theme for taunts and ridicule by people of other castes. At last the late Matilal Sil caused the custom to be abolished and introduced the practice of feasting on the wedding night at the bride's house as well as on the *gáyé-halud* day. Another reason why their forefathers, who were more wealthy, had not possessed this enjoyable practice was that none but their own caste people would eat in their house. In the houses of pure Hindus, or of other Baniahs, Sadgopes or Tantuvayas, the Brahmanas have the precedence to the feast, next the Vaidyas and people of other castes, and lastly the hosts' own caste people. Each class of people must sit in separate rows or *pankti*, and must eat separately by themselves. In a Kayastha's house the Nava-sayakas are entertained separately, but have no precedence. In the old big Kayastha's house, such as that of Raja Radhakanta Deva, or the Sinha, who stick to their conservatism, the only guests that find equal precedence with the Kayasthas, are Setts or Bysacks of Calcutta, though very few in the upper ranks of them are seen to sit down to partake of *jalpan* on any feasting occasion.

† The late Kumar Indeer Chandra Singh Bahadur of the Paikpara Raj family used to declare now and then, with a sort of noble pride, that he was a Karana. We cannot but admire his honesty and frank confession as worthy of the scion of a noble family. A pretentious Ghose, Basu, or Mitra who leaves no stone unturned to prove his Kshatriya origin in spite of history and tradition, is less respected than a Karana who never seeks to conceal his real origin.

opinion the Uttara Rádhi Káyasthas represent the true Káyasthas of Bengal, whose ancestors must have come to it at the time of the first colonization of the country by the Aryas, but their number was augmented by the five Karanas who came with the five Bráhmanas from Kanauj. The copper-plate grant of Dharma Pála lately discovered by Babu U. C. Batavyal* proves beyond a question that there were numerous Karanas in Bengal at the time when Bhatta Náráyana came to this country, and these Karanas are no other than the Uttara Rádhi Káyasthas or Karana Káyasthas, who count many territorial Zemindars among them.

The following families constitute the Uttara Rádhi class. :—

Family.	Gotra.	Status in Society.	
Ghose	Saukalína	Reckoned as one family.†	Kányakulya.
Sinha	Vátsya	do.	
Mitra	Visvamisra	do.	
Dás	Maudgalya	do.	
Datta	Káasyapa	do.	
Ghose	Sándilya	do.	Désí.
† Das	Káasyapa	do.	
Sinha	Bharadvája	Reckoned as $\frac{1}{4}$ family.	
‡ Kar	Maudgalya	do.	

Total 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ families.

Of these, Ghose of the Saukalína gotra and Sinha of the Vátsya gotra are reckoned as Kulins, Dás of the Maudgalya gotra, Mitra of the Visvamisra gotra and Datta of the Káasyapa gotra are reckoned as Sanmauliks (Mauliks of higher order), and the Désí two and a half families, *viz.*, Ghose of the Sándilya gotra, Dás of the Káasyapa gotra, Sinha of the Bharadvája gotra, and Kar of the Maudgalya gotra are reckoned as ordinary Mauliks.

The consociations of the Uttara Rádhi Káyasthas are given below :—

Vansa or family.	Gotra.	Consociation (samaj).	Founder or first patriarch.
Ghose	Saukalína	Jaján Radha Desh Murshedabad	Somesvara Ghose
Sinha	Vátsya	Jemo (Kándi) Murshedabad	Anádivar
Dás	Maudgalya	Radha Desh	Harihar

* See *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LXIII, Part I, No. 1, 1894.

† According to the *Visva Kosha*, a few families of the Dakshin Rádhi Káyasthas migrated a little before the time of Purandar Khán to the northern part of the country called Radha, and thus became known as Uttara-Rádhi Káyasthas. This assertion, which makes the Uttara Rádhi to be an offshoot of the Dakshina Rádhis appears to be partially true, but not wholly, *i. e.*, a few families of the Dakshina Rádhis might have gone to the northern part of Radha and formed family alliances with the Uttara Rádhis. But this fact does not prove that the Uttara Rádhis are descended from the Dakshina Rádhis.

‡ According to the *Visva Kosha*, the Dás and the Kar families are reckoned as a quarter family each.

Marriage alliances with the *deshi* 2½ families are not considered lucky or desirable, as the following quotation from the *Kulapanjiká* of the Uttara Rádhi Káyasthas shows :—

শাণ্ডিল্যে স্ত্রুতনাশায় ধননাশায় কাশ্যপে ।

ভরদ্বাজে সর্কনাশায় করে শীল নিপাতিতে ॥

The meaning is—marriage with the daughter of a Ghose of the Sándilya gotra causes the death of the child ; that with the daughter of a Dás of the Kásyapa gotra diminishes wealth, that is, in such a case, the person contracting the marriage loses the prestige of his *kul* or family, and is obliged to pay *bata* to others in the shape of money when performing any social act, such as marriage, before he can regain the lost prestige ; that with the daughter of a Sinha of the Bharadvája gotra causes the loss of *kul*, and unless some good act or deed is performed within three generations, the honours of Kulinism cease ; and that with the daughter of a Kar of the Maudgulya gotra, causes loss of *Maryádá* (honours).

The consociations (samáj) of the Uttara Rádhi Káyasthas that are held to be honourable are the following:— *

Samaj (Consociation.) Páñchthubi (a)	Vansa (family) Ghose	Gotra Saukálina	Founder or first patriarch Munivar	Honour First class	Bibriti (বিব্রিতি) (Estimation) Occupying the first place. Do. Do.
Do. Puranbari (a)	Do.	Do.	Hájra	Do.	Do.
Do.	Do.	Do.	Mallik	Do.	Do.
Jaján (a)	Do.	Do.	Kapindra Ghose } Uchit Khan }	Do.	Equal to Páñchthubi
Rasrá (a)	Do.	Do.	Sadananda Khan }		
Kulái (b)	Do.	Do.		Second class	Occupying a middle position.

Kulinism of the Sinha Family.

Ghose Páñchko (c)	Sinha	Vátsya	Hira Santán	First class	Equal to the family of Munivar Ghose and is <i>páliti</i> family with it.
Kándi (c)	Do.	Do.	{ Jivadhar Prabhákar }		
Jemo (a)	Do.	Do.	Máchav Sinha		
Bisvaspára (a)	Do.	Do.	Govinda Sinha Khán		
Bélé (a)	Do.	Do.	Má:huránath Sridhar	" "	

(a.) In Zilláh Murshedabad.

(b.) In Zilláh Birbhúm.

(c.) In Zilláh Hugli.

According to the Uttara Rádhi Káyasthas the following eight places are the native places *জন্মভূমি* of the Káyasthas :—

অযোধ্যা মথুরা মায়া কাশী কাঞ্চী অবন্তিকা ।

হস্তিনা দ্বারকাপুরী কায়স্থস্থানমষ্টকং ॥ Kayastha Kulapradípa.

Ayodhyá	Mathurá	Máyá (Brindában),	Kási, Káñchi.
Avánti	Hastina	Dwarká	

* The family of Somesvar Ghose of Jaján, that of Anádivar Sinha of Jémo (Kándi) that of Harihar Dás of Bahrán, the Mitra family of Mitrapur, and the Datta family of Datta Barya, are said to be the most ancient families among the Uttara Rádhi Káyasthas.

2. The Várendra Káyasthas. Those Káyasthas who live from a remote time in the country beyond the Ganges (Várendra) and who have not contracted alliances with their western brethren, are known as Várendra Káyasthas. They consist of $7\frac{1}{2}$ families *viz* :—

Dás	...	Reckoned as Kulin	...	One family
Nándi	...	do.	...	do.
Chákí	...	do.	...	do.
Sarmá *	...	Reckoned as Kulin, but gets seat below the three alone.	...	Half family.
Nág	...	Suddha Maulik	...	One family.
Sinha	...	do.	...	do.
Dev	...	do.	...	do.
Datta	...	do.	...	do.
Total ..				$7\frac{1}{2}$

The *kul* of the Várendra Káyasthas rests in their son. There is no increase or decrease of the *kul* among them. Good acts render the family more honourable. The *kul* is not destroyed by bad acts, but is lowered a little in the estimation of others.

The Várendra Káyasthas abound most in Zilláh Rájsháhi, the eastern part of Zillah Murshedabad, and the western part of Zillah Nadiá.

3. Bangaja Káyasthas These acknowledge themselves to
4. Dakshina Rádhi Káyasthas. be the descendants of the five servants who came to Bengal with the five Bráhmanas invited by Adisura from Kanauj to perform some religious sacrifices.

The question which naturally arises here are, who were these five servants, what was their social position, and why did they accompany at all the five Bráhmanas? A good deal of misapprehension exists as respects these points, and we fear they have not been cleared up as yet. We will here try to give a solution of these questions as far as it can be done, consistent with records and traditions.

According to the Ghatak-karikas (records of the Ghataks) of the Dakshin Rádhi Káyasthas, as quoted in the Sabdakalpadruma, Adisura enquired of his officer as to what Bráhmanas were well versed in performing *Yajna* (religious sacrifices according to the Vedic rites) and who were the Kulin Súdras. In reply he was told that the Bráhmanas of Koláncha (Kanauj) were known for their religious devotion, and that the inhabitants of that country were such Súdras as the king

* There exists a tradition that Sarmá was by caste a barber before, but, having rescued Dás, Nandi, &c., from some danger or calamity, by displaying extraordinary power, was admitted as a member of the Várendra Káyastha sub-division, and is reckoned as a half Kulin family.

wished them to be. Accordingly, Adisura wrote a very courteous letter to Vira Sinha, King of Koláncha (Kanouj) asking him to send some Bráhmanas and Súdras to his court. In compliance with this request, Vira Sinha sent five Bráhmanas of different gotras with their wives and servants (দ্বিজান্ পঞ্চ গোত্রান্ সদাৱাদি ভূতান্) to the court of Adisura. On their way from Kanouj to Gauda, they visited the holy places at Prayág (confluence of the Jumna and the Ganges), Váránasí (Benares) and Gáyá to perform religious rites and observances according to the custom of the Hindus. As the Bráhmanas rode on horses, the king at first treated them with contempt, but they wrought a miracle by throwing their blessings on a dead tree, which instantly became a living tree and blossomed. The king then received them with honours due to their position. When questioned by Adisura the five servants said—কোলাঞ্চাং পঞ্চ শূদ্রা বয়মপি নৃপতে ভূমুরানাং 'Oh King! we five Súdras have come from Koláncha as servants of the Bráhmanas.'

Let us now see what Devívara has to say regarding the advent of the five Bráhmanas and Súdras. As Devívara devoted his life to the re-organization of Kulinism, his account of the mission, which must have been collected from records of his predecessors, and which we quote here from the Sabdakalpadruma, must be accepted as correct, at least generally.

অশ্বষ্ঠকুলসমুত আদিশূরো নৃপেশ্বরঃ ।
 রাঢ় গোড়বরেন্দ্রাশ্চ বঙ্গদেশস্তথৈবচ ॥
 এতেষাং নৃপতিশ্চৈব সৰ্বভূমীশ্বরো যথা ।
 অমাত্যৈৰ্বাক্তবৈশ্চৈব মন্ত্ৰিভির্বিজয়নকৈঃ ॥
 এতৈঃ সহ মহীপাল একদা স নিজালয়ে ।
 উপবিষ্টো দ্বিজান্ প্রাপ্তুং ধৰ্মশাস্ত্রপরায়ণঃ ॥
 কেন যজ্ঞেন ভগবৎ প্রীতিৰ্ভবতি নিশ্চিতং ।
 তৎ সৰ্বং শ্রোতুমিচ্ছামি কথয়ধুং দ্বিজোত্তমাঃ ।
 ইতি শ্রুত্বা দ্বিজাঃ সৰ্কে খৰ্ব্বীকৃত কলেবরাঃ ।
 কথয়ন্তি নৃপাণ্যেতু সৰ্কে বিকৃতমানসাঃ ॥
 কেন কেন বিধানেন যজ্ঞো বা ক্রিয়তে বুধৈঃ ।
 বয়ং সৰ্কে ন জানীমো বিধানং কীদৃশো ক্রতোঃ ।
 ইতি তেষাং বচঃ শ্রুত্বা চিন্তাযুক্তো মহীপতিঃ ।
 কিং করোমি ক গচ্ছামি বিললাপ পুনঃ পুনঃ ॥

কান্যকুজাং সমানীতান্ দূতেন দ্বিজপঞ্চকান্ ।
 বেদশাস্ত্রেষবগতান্ সৰ্ব্বাশ্চে চ বিশারদান্ ॥
 গোযানারোহিতান্ বিপ্রান্ খড়্গচৰ্ম্মাদিভিৰ্যুতান্ ।
 পত্তিবেশান্ সমালোক্য বিষাদো জায়তে হৃদি ॥
 অশ্রদ্ধা জায়তে রাজ ইতি জ্ঞাতা দ্বিজোত্তমা ।
 আশীৰ্ব্বাদার্থনিৰ্ম্মাল্যং মল্লকাষ্টোপরি স্থিতং ॥
 তদা কাষ্ঠং সজীবং স্যাৎ ফলপল্লবসংযুতং ।
 ইতি দৃষ্টা নৃপস্তস্মিন্ কম্পানিতকলেবরঃ ॥
 স্তোত্রঞ্চ বল্লভা তেষামকরোং স নৃপোত্তমঃ ।
 আসনং পদ্যমানীয় দদৌ বিনয়পূৰ্ব্বকং ॥
 উপবিষ্টা দ্বিজাঃ পঞ্চ তথ চ শূদ্রপঞ্চকাঃ ।
 রাজ্যে কুশলং সৰ্ব্বং প্রোচুশ্চেত্যবদৎ স তান্ ॥
 অদ্য মে সফলং জন্ম জীবিতঞ্চ স্বজীবিতং ।
 পুত্ৰঞ্চ ভবনং জাতং যুস্মাকং গমনং যতঃ ॥
 এবঞ্চ ক্রিয়তে স্তোত্রং পৃষ্ঠান্যং শূদ্রপঞ্চকে ।
 যুস্মাকং গোত্রমাখ্যা চ কিমর্থবা দ্বিজৈঃ সহ ॥
 তৎসৰ্ব্বং শ্রোতুমিচ্ছামি ক্রত ভো শূদ্রপুঙ্গবাঃ ।
 ইতি রাজো বচঃ শ্রুত্বা কথয়ন্মামগোত্রকে ॥
 কাশ্যপে চৈব গোত্রে চ দক্ষনামা মহামতিঃ ।
 তস্য দাসো গৌতমস্য গোত্রে দসরথো বশুঃ ॥
 শান্তিল্য গোত্রে সম্ভূতঃ ভট্টনারায়ণঃ কৃতি ।
 মৌকালীনশ্চ দাসোহয়ং ঘোষঃ শ্রীমকরন্দকঃ ॥
 ভরদ্বাজেষু বিখ্যাতঃ শ্রীহৰ্ষো মুনিসত্তমঃ ।
 দাসস্তস্য বিরাটাখ্যো গুহকঃ কাশ্যপঃ স্মৃতঃ ॥
 সাবর্ণগোত্রনির্দিষ্টো বেদগৰ্ভমুনিদ্বয়ং ।
 তস্য দাসো মিত্রবংশো বিশ্বামিত্রশ্চ গোত্রকঃ ॥
 কালিদাস ইতি খ্যাত শূদ্রবংশসমুদ্ভবঃ ।
 বাৎস্য গোত্রেষু সম্ভূতঃ ছান্দড়শ্চেতি সংজিতঃ ॥
 মৌদাল্য গোত্রজে দত্তঃ পুরুষোত্তমসংজ্ঞকঃ ।
 এতেষাং রক্ষণার্থায় আগতোস্মি তবালয়ে ॥
 ইতি শ্রুত্বা নৃপস্তত্র মনসা হর্ষমাগতঃ ।
 বিধানেনৈব নিবর্ত্য ক্রতুঞ্চ ধৰ্ম্মসংজিতং ॥

গ্রামং সূবর্ণং গাঈকৈব বস্ত্রানি বিবিধানিচ ।
 দক্ষিণার্থে দ্বিজাতিভ্যঃ প্রদদৌ সনুপোত্তমঃ ॥
 অত্রনেশে ক্রুতাবাসাঃ সৰ্ব্বে চ দ্বিজশূদ্রকাঃ ।
 বহবশ্চ প্রজা জাতা নানাদেশনিবাসিনঃ ॥

We subjoin below a free translation of the above passages :—

“ Once upon a time, King Adisura, who was lord paramount of Radha, Gauda, Varendra and Banga, surrounded by courtiers, friends, ministers and Bráhmanas, and being himself well versed in the Dharma Shástras, asked the Bráhmanas thus—‘ Oh, good Bráhmanas ! what religious sacrifice is that by the performance of which the God is surely appeased ? speak and let me hear its details ’ The Bráhmanas shortened their stature at this question, and with a contracted mind confessed their utter want of knowledge of the religious sacrifices and their details. Thereupon the king became very restless and knew not what to do, or where to go. The result of this meeting was that five Bráhmanas, learned in the Vedas, were imported from Kanouj. These appeared before the king riding on cars drawn by bullocks with coats of mails on their body and swords in their hands. On looking at their military attire, the king did not receive them with honours due to their position as good Bráhmanas, whereupon they threw their blessings upon a log of wood which was lying before them, and it instantly became a living tree adorned with leaves and fruits. This miracle wrought by the Bráhmanas took the king by surprise, who hastened to receive them with honours due to them. The five Bráhmanas and five Sudras, having seated themselves, enquired of the welfare of the kingdom. The king in reply said that his life was blessed and his palace hallowed at their appearance. Having thus expressed his humility to the Bráhmanas, the king then enquired of the five Súdras as to their names and gotras, and with what object they had accompanied the Bráhmanas. The five Súdras replied thus :— ‘ Here is magnanimous Daksha of the Kásyapa gotra, with Dasarath Basu of the Gautama gotra as his servant ; there is the learned Bhattanárayana of the Sándilya gotra, with Makaranda Ghose of the Saukálina gotra as his servant ; there is the sage Sriharsa of the Bharadvája gotra, with Virata Guha of the Kásyapa gotra as his servant ; this is Vedagarbhamuni of the Sávarna gotra, with Kalidás Mitra, born of a Súdra family of the Visvámitra gotra as his servant ; and lo ! there is Chhándada of the Vatsy gotra, with Purushottam Datta of the Maudgulya gotra as his servant. Oh King ! we have come to your palace to protect these (Bráhmanas). The king became glad at the information given ; and having had the Yajna (religious sacrifice) performed according to the Shástric rules, presented villages, gold, kine, and various sorts of cloth to the Bráhmanas. All these Bráhmanas and Súdras adopted this country as their residence in which people of many countries dwelt. ”

The two accounts which agree in the main establish the following facts :—

(1) King Adisura was an Ambastha, *i. e.* a Vaidya and not a Brahma-Kshatriya or a Káyastha. The supposition of certain petty and partial writers that Adisura was a Káyastha may therefore be consigned to the region of myth, and with it the boast of certain half-educated Káyasthas of the present day, that Adisura and Ballála, kings of Bengal, were their ancestors.

(2) The Bráhmanas were invited for performing certain religious sacrifices according to the Vedic rites, and not for any other purpose. The editor of the “ Visva Kosha ” supposes that

the five Bráhmanas and the five Káyasthas* came to Bengal, not for the sole purpose of performing Yajna, but for some political object, such as the establishment of peace and order in the country. The arguments adduced by the editor in support of his theory are flimsy and easily refutable. The Karikás (records of the Ghataks), he says, are modern and cannot be accepted, and he asks, if the object of the mission was simply religious sacrifice, why did the Bráhmanas come with their wives and children and in military attire? The Karikás, it is true, are modern, those of Devívara being four hundred years old; but they were based on written records, which existed at the time when they were framed, as well as on traditions which must have been handed down from generation to generation, and the correctness of which had never been questioned before. King Adisura did not want the Bráhmanas simply to come to his court, perform the Yajna and then go back to their own country laden with *dakshina* (perquisites given to a Bráhmana for his service,) just as if one were to engage a Bráhmana at a *Brata* or a *Pújá* and then dismiss him with rice, plantain, *sandesh* and a few pice on account of the service performed. He wished to introduce new blood among the Bráhmanas and Súdras of his kingdom, and this fact is very plainly indicated in the Karikás. This accounts for the presence of their wives and children. And as regards their military attire, the editor should remember the time and the state of the country and roads when the mission came to Bengal. Their track lay from Kanouj to Bengal through Prayág (Ailahabad), Benares and Gayá. The tracts of country which they had to traverse were full of jungles, infested with wild beasts and robbers, with no proper through road (the great Trunk Road opened by Shere Shah was not then in existence) and caravanseraí, and these facts account, no doubt, for their military attire. Had there been any political object in view, it would no doubt have been recorded in the Karikás and handed down from mouth to mouth in the families of the five Bráhmanas and the five Súdras. But as such is not the case, the theory of the Visva Kosha, like other shallow and unreasoning theories propounded therein, must be dismissed as apocryphal. On the other hand, King Adisurá's disregard for the Bráhmanas on their first appearance before him in military attire, conclusively proves the absence of any political object.

(3) The servants who accompanied the five Bráhmanas were Súdras born of good family. They were neither Vaisyas nor Kshatriyas, as fondly maintain by the Káyasthas of the present day, and the object of their accompanying the

* The term 'Káyastha' does not occur in any of the Karikás. 'Súdra,' and 'Dás' (servant) are the only words used. The Bráhmanas came to perform the Yajna with five Súdras as their servants.

five Bráhmaṇas was to protect them. Now this does not mean that there was anything to fear from Adisura or his courtiers ; it simply means that, as the Bráhmaṇas had to traverse a long and dangerous tract of country, these half-mates, or in other words, their servants, were, so to speak, their bodyguards, so that no peril might befall them on their way. " We have come to protect these (Bráhmaṇas)," were the words used by the five Súdra servants, and their meaning is quite patent to every reader. Had there been any political object in view, the Súdra servants would not have missed this opportunity to declare it at once before the king. That there was no political object is quite certain, and it is only advanced by the Káyasthas of the present day, in spite of the writings of Devivara, Vachaspati Misra, Dhruvananda and other recorders of the mission, to enhance their own importance in the eyes of the ignorant people of other castes. But then the question might be raised as regards the social status of the five servants. On this point writers do not agree, for while the Káyasthas of the present day allege that the five servants were not really servants in the true acceptation of the term, but only disciples of the Bráhmaṇas, and as such they might, without any derogation to their honour and position, style themselves servants, but in reality they were the chief-party of the mission, and that the Bráhmaṇas accompanied them as *purohīts* (priests), if, indeed, they were anything more than the cooks of the five Káyasthas, * others say that the five Súdras were menial servants, such as Káhárs, Kurmis, Duliya, &c. We can sympathise with neither of these writers, for their writings are but outbursts of private feeling for or against the Káyasthas. There can be no doubt that the mission was a purely religious one, and that the opportunity was taken to introduce Súdras of good birth (कुलीन शूद्र) to this country. There is nothing in the records of the Ghatak writers which warrants us in concluding that the five Súdras came in the capacity of menial servants, as for instance, to hand *gadu* and *gamchha* to the Bráhmaṇas, to oil their body before bathing (if indeed they ever used oil), to wash their clothes and to do other menial functions. That they were servants of the Bráhmaṇas, there is not the least shadow of doubt. But their position was higher than that of menial servants, for had they been such, they would not have been permitted to sit in the court hall of Adisura along with the Bráhmaṇas, and Adisura would never have lost his dignity in accosting them. We cannot suppose that altogether only ten persons, viz., five Bráh-

* See Risley's " Tribes and Castes in Bengal," Vol. : I, page 439.

manas and five servants came ; there must have been some attendants and menials, too, consistently with the dignity of the mission, but who those attendants and menials were we have no records to show. We are well within the mark when we say that the five Súdras were Ugra Karanas, whose duties under the Hindu monarchy have been clearly defined by Kullúka Bhatta in his commentary on verse 6, chapter X of the Manáva Dharma Shástra, and recorded by us in a previous portion of this article, and it is not altogether incredible that, impelled by the allurements of lucrative posts, the five Súdras (*alias* five Karanas) did accompany the mission, either of their own free will, or at the express desire of King Vira Sinha of Kanouj. The tradition current among the Uttara Rádhi Káyasthas that five Karanas came with the five Bráhmanas, therefore, appears to be based on fact, though ignored by the Dakshina Rádhi Káyasthas. The supposition we have made is consistent with the writings of the Kariká that King Adisura wanted to introduce Kulin Súdras (Súdras of good birth) into his kingdom ; and the fact that some of the descendants of the five Súdras obtained certain posts of honour and trust in the State service under Ballála and his son Lakshmana Sen further strengthens our position.

(4) The five Bráhmanas and the five Súdras became permanent residents of this country. The Bráhmanas came with their wives and children, but it is not clearly stated in the *Kárikás* that the servants, too, came with their wives and children. But the fact that they, like the Bráhmanas, became permanent residents in this country, forces us to conclude that they too came with their wives and children. They chose this country as the country of their residence, and thrived and multiplied like other inhabitants of the place.

(5.) Although the family titles of Ghose, Basu, Mitra, Guha and Datta are appended to the names of the five servants in the *Kárikás*, yet it is quite certain that these family titles were of later origin. The five servants had no such family titles. We do not know how or when these family titles came to existence.

The Bangaja and the Dakshina Rádhi Káyasthas are here treated under one heading, because these sub-divisions have sprung from one and the same stock, as will be seen from the following table :—

Makaranda Ghose ...	1.	Bhavanath, son	}	... lived in Radha
	2.	Subhasita, son		
	3.	Chaturbhuj son		... went to live in Banga.
		of 2.		

Dasarath Basu	...	1. Krishna, son ...	lived in Radha, but one of his grandsons, Alankar Basu, went to live in Banga. The other two grandsons, Sakti and Mukti, lived in Radha.
		2. Parama, son ...	also lived in Radha, but his sons, Lakshman and Pushan, went to live in Banga.
Kalidas Mitra	...	1. Asvapati ...	lived in Banga
		2. Sridhar ...	lived in Radha.
Virata Guha <i>alias</i> Dasarathi Guha	...	went to live in Bengal but one of his descendants by name Viraj came to live in Radha.	
Purushottam Datta	...	Narayana, son ...	lived in Radha.

The above account is taken from Pandit Lalmohan's "Sambandha-Nirnaya", but we have grave doubts as to its correctness. The reader may accept or reject it as he pleases. He may accept, however, the general fact, that in course of time some of the descendants of the five Súdra servants went to live in the country called Banga, and became known as Bangaja Káyasthas.

Among the Dakshina Rádhi Káyasthas, Ghose, Basu and Mitra are reckoned as Kulin families. Datta disowned* that he was ever the servant (Dás) of the Bráhmanas, and for this fault on his part he was deprived of Kulinism. Guha also was not made Kulin on account of impertinence shown by him in the King's Court. Among the Dakshina Rádhis, Datta and Guha therefore rank as *mauliks*. Among the Bangajas, the Guha is reckoned as Kulin, but the Mitra as a *maulik*. The Dakshina Rádhi and the Bangaja Káyasthas are then commonly divided into Kulins or mauliks, as shown in the following table :—

Dakshina Rádhi...	{	Ghose, Basu, Mitra	...	Kulins.
		Deva, Datta, Kar, Palit, Sen,		
		Sinha, Dás, Guha	...	Siddha mauliks.
Bangaja	{	Ghose, Basu, Guha	...	Kulins.
		Mitra, Datta, Nág, Náth, Dás,		
		Deva, Sen, Palit, Sinha	...	Mauliks.

* দত্ত কারো ভৃত্য নয় সঙ্গ আগমন ।

বিশ্বসঙ্গে থাকি করি তীর্থ পর্যটন ।

Datta is servant to no body, but has come with the Bráhmanas to visit pilgrimages.

And again—ঘোষ বসু মিত্র কুলের অধিকারী ।

অভিমানে বালীর দত্ত যায় গড়াগড়ি ॥

Ghose, Basu, and Mitra are recipients of Kulinism, while Datta of Bali, rolls on the ground under a sense of dishonour.

Among the Dakshina Rádhis, there are a number of Káyasthas of lower position who are styled Báháthuré (72 class) Káyasthas * These are Sadhya Mauliks, as distinguished from Siddha Mauliks.

There are nine sorts of Kulins as enumerated below :—

1. মুখ্য (Mukhya). 2. জন্মমুখ্য (Janmamukhya). 3. বাডীমুখ্য (Barhimukhya). 4. কনিষ্ঠ (Kanistha). 5. ছভায়া (Chhabháya). 6. মধ্যাংশ (Madhyánsa). 7. তেওজ কনিষ্ঠ দ্বিতীয় পুত্র ছভায়া (Taoj Kanistha dvitiya puttra Chhabháya). 8. দ্বিতীয় পুত্র সপ্তম মধ্যাংশ (Dvitiya puttra saptam madhyansa). 9. দ্বিতীয় পুত্র (তেওজ) Dvitiya puttra Taoj).

Kulins belong to one or other of these nine varieties. They are further sub-divided into different grades and they rise or fall in social estimation according to the marriage made by the eldest son and eldest daughter. If they marry into Kulin families the reputation of their own families is secured, and the younger members may marry as they please.

Mukhya Kulins are of four sorts, viz.,—(1) Janmamukhya ; (2) Bádimukhya ; (3) Sahajmukhya, and (4) Komalmukhya.

The first son of the eldest son of a Kulin is called Janmamukhya, while the first son of the second son is called Bádimukhya. None can obtain the title Bádimukhya without good acts.

(1.) In a Kulin family, those who, according to their birth, are considered first-born sons are styled Janmamukhya.

(2.) The second and third sons of a Janmamukhya are styled Bádimukhya. This distinction is obtained by good acts.

(3.) The first son of a Bádimukhya is called Sahajmukhya, who by good acts obtains the position of Janmamukhya.

(4.) The fourth son of a Janmamukhya is called a Komalmukhya. This distinction cannot be obtained without *áddn* and *praddn* with good families.

The rest of the Kulins are *gauna*, or somewhat lower in position. It would be tedious to enumerate all the petty nice distinctions which obtain in the family of a *gauna* Kulin Káyastha.

* Their names are here given from the Subdakalpudruma :—

হোড়, স্বর, ধর, ধরণী, বাণ, আইচ, সোম, পৈ, স্বর, সাম, ভজ, বিন্দ, গুহ, বল, লোধ, শর্মা, বর্মা, ছই, ভুই, চন্দ্র, রুদ্র, রক্ষিত, রাজা, আদিত্য, বিষ্ণু, নাগ, খিল, পিল, গুড়, ইন্দ্র, গুণ্ড, পাল, ভদ্র, ওম, অক্ষুর, নাথ, শাঁই, হেশ, মন, গণ্ড, রাহা, রাণা, রাহুত, সানা, দাহা, দানা, গণ, উপমান, ক্ষাম, ক্ষোম, ঘর, বৈণ্ড, বীদ, তেজ, অণব, আশ, শক্তি, ভূত, ব্রহ্ম, শান, ক্ষেম, হেম, বর্জন, রদ, গুই, কীর্তি, যশ, কুণ্ড, নন্দী, শীল, ধনুঃ, গুণ ।

Among the Dakshina Rádhi and the Bangaja Káyasthas there are thirteen principal faults or blemishes. These are :—

- | | |
|---------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. দেবী (Dévi). | 7. চণ্ডীদাসী (Chandidási). |
| 2. গৌরী (Gauri). | 8. স্রীনাথী (Srináthi). |
| 3. গঙ্গা (Gangá). | 9. স্রীকরী (Srikarí). |
| 4. ভৈরবী (Bhairaví). | 10. বিষ্ণুদাসী (Vishnudási). |
| 5. ভাস্করী (Bhaskari). | 11. হৃদয়দাসী (Hridayadási). |
| 6. বলায়ী (Baláyí). | 12. কন্দর্পী (Kandarpí). |
| 13. সদানন্দী (Sadánandí). | |

These faults were generally ignored up to the twelfth *paryáya* (পর্যায়). About this time Purandar Basu, *alias* Purandar Khan,* convened a meeting of the Dakshina Rádhi Káyasthas, in which it was finally settled that the bridegroom and the bride must be of equal *paryáya*. This rule is still observed by the Dakshina Rádhi Káyasthas.

The principal matrimonial rules that obtain among the Dakshina Rádhi and the Bangaja Káyasthas may be thus summarised. The eldest son of a Kulin must marry a Kulin's daughter, but if he marries a daughter of a *maulik*, he loses his *kul*. If he first marries a *Kulin's* daughter and then marries a *maulik's* daughter, his *kul* remains intact. The other sons of a *Kulin* are permitted to marry daughters of *mauliks*. A *Maulik* must give his daughter in marriage to a *Kulin's* son and himself must marry the daughter of a *Kulin*; but *ádán* and *pradán* (taking and giving away girls in marriage) between one *Maulik* and another, lowers the prestige of both in the Káyastha society. Before the regulation of *paryáya* was established by Purandar-Khán, *ádán* and *pradán* between *Mauliks* themselves was not uncommon, and was not usually reckoned as blameable.

It has been said before that *Mauliks* marry their daughters to sons of a *Kulin* other than the eldest son. But some *Maulik* Káyasthas marry their daughters to the *Kulin's* eldest son, when his *kul* has been preserved by marrying first a *Kulin's* daughter. This second marriage of a *Kulin's* son in the family of a *Maulik*, during the life-time of the first wife, is called *Adyaras* (আদ্যরাস), and the *Maulik* families in which such marriages take place are called families of *Adyaras* or *Kulapálak* (কুলপালক). The *Kulapálaks* are considered leaders of society, and their sons receive the first *malya-chandana* (মালাচন্দন) in a social gathering.

* Purandar Basu was the Wazir of Hosein Shah, and is better known as Purandar Khan. He is said to have been the contemporary of Devívara Ghatak. The matrimonial rules passed by him still prevail among the Dakshina Rádhi Káyasthas.

The *kul* of a Dakshina Rádhi Káyastha rests on the first son. Among the Bangajas there is no *ádyaras*, and the honours of their *kul* are not, like the Dakshina Rádhi Káyasthas, maintained by the principal son. Among them each son is independent and is honored or disrespected according to his own individual merits or faults. This is the only difference between a Dakshina Rádhi Káyastha and a Bangaja Káyastha. In other respects they are equal.

At present, *ádán* and *parádán* has commenced between the Dakshina Rádhi and the Bangaja Káyasthas.

A branch of the Dakshina Rádhi Káyasthas have long settled in Orissa, and are called Katakí Káyasthas. *Adán* and *parádán* takes place between the Dakshina Rádhi and the Katakí Káyasthas. The Sarvádhi-káris of Khánákul were formerly Katakí Káyasthas.

Ballála is said to have divided the Káyasthas into four sub-castes, *viz.*, Bangaja, Dakshina Rádhi, Uttara Rádhi and Várendra.* "He selected eight members from each *kul* of the Dakshina Rádhis, in order to create *samajés*, or hypergamous groups, *e.g.*, eight from each of the three families of Ghose, Basu, and Mitra, out of which two were made *Kulin*, and six were made *Vansaja*. Prabhákar of the Akná group and Nisápati of the Bali group represented the *Mukhya* of the Ghosa family, Sukti of the Báganda group and Mukti of the Mahinagar group represented the Basu family; while Dhuin of the Barisa group and Guin of the Tek group represented the Mitra family. Thus, according to the rules of Ballála Sen, only these six men were made *Kulin*; the rest were made *Vansaja*, *i.e.*, born of the *Kulin* family. The names of the *Vansaja* groups are:—

Amreshvar, Dirghánga, Karáti, Seákhálá, Khaniá and Sánk-ráli of the Ghosh family.

Nimárká, Sáthuli, Chitrapur, Drighánga, Gohári, and Panchamúli of the Basu family.

Dábarákupi, Chándará, Dántiá, Cháklai, Kumárhatta and Baliá groups form the Mitra family.

* But see Visva Kosha, article 'Káyastha,' wherein it is said that after the establishment of *mel* by Purandar Khán, a few families of the Dakshina Rádhi Káyasthas went to live in the northern part of Rádha, and thus became known as Uttara Rádhi Káyasthas. This assertion, like many other assertions of the Visva Kosha, is dogmatic, for we know that the distinction between the Uttara Rádhi and Dakshina Rádhi Káyasthas did exist before the time of Purandar Khan. According to the account given in Mr. Risley's "Tribes and Castes in Bengal" (Vol. I, page 440), Ballála divided the Káyasthas into four sub-castes: Uttara Rádhi, Dakshina Rádhi, Bangaja and Várendra. The Uttara Rádhi Káyasthas do not acknowledge *Kúlinism* conferred by Ballála; but the sub-divisions which he made are not denied. The editor of the Visva Kosha, who is himself a Dakshina Rádhi Káyastha, attempts to persuade us that the Uttara Rádhi Káyasthas are of recent origin, and that the Rádhi Káyasthas, represented chiefly by the Dakshina Rádhi Káyasthas, are Káyasthas *de facto*.

From what has been said before, the reader will see that the so-called Kulinism is nothing but certain matrimonial rules promulgated by King Ballála and revised by Purandar Khan. They affect only a portion of the Káyasthas, for the Uttara Rádhis do not conform to them. The entire Hindu population of Bengal have nothing to do with them. The Kulin Káyastha is always vain of his *kul*, but what does it avail him? It is true he earns some thousand rupees when marrying his son, to the ruin of the family from which the bride is taken; but does it make his position higher than what it was before? Does it secure for him the social status of a Vaisya? Born of a Vaisya father and a Súdra mother, his social position must always be lower than that of a Vaisya. The Hindu law on this point is absolute and immutable, and no amount of sophistry on the part of certain pretentious Káyasthas can alter it. They may assume or arrogate to themselves any higher title they like, such as Basu Barman* in lieu of Dás Basu, but a jackdaw in borrowed feathers is always a jackdaw, and will never pass as a peacock. It is true that the patent of Kulinism was sanctioned by a king at the solicitation of the Bráhmanas on behalf of their servants, but that fact signifies nothing more than that certain social laws, which certain Káyasthas of the time declared they would conform to, were approved by him. These rules have not affected one iota of the Hindu law, which binds the entire population of Bengal. They are in force among a certain section of the whole Hindu community of Bengal, for the rest of whom they are, as it were, *non est*. The Káyasthas arrogate to themselves that they have the patent of nobility, but this is not conceded by any class of people.

There is a proverb that a loser of caste is reckoned as a Káyastha (কাজি হারাইলেই কায়স্থ), and there are instances which verify it. The following instances are cited in Mr. Risley's "Tribes and Castes in Bengal" (Vol. I, page 439). "A few years ago many Magh families of Chittagong settled in the western districts of Bengal, assumed the designation of Káyastha, and were allowed to intermarry with true Káyastha families." Again, "the descendants of a Thibetan missionary have somehow found their way into the caste, and are now recognized as high class Káyasthas" A third story tells how "a certain Uriya Goálá, bearing the name Datta, which is one of the distinctive hypergamous titles of the Káyasthas, took

* Basu is the family title of a hypergamous group of the Dakshina Rádhí Káyasthas. Barman is the title of the Kshatriyas. Certain Káyasthas, thinking that they are descended from the Kshatriya stock, have the audacity to assume the compound title 'Basu Barman' to pass off as Kshatriyas.

service with a Káyastha family in Calcutta, where his principal duty was to boil the milk to be offered to certain idols. This man's sons grew up and were educated with the sons of the house, and were recently admitted as Káyasthas of the Datta group and of the Káyastha gotra." Further, according to the authority of Dr. Wise, many *golam* or slave Káyasthas in Eastern Bengal have raised themselves as high as the Madhalya grade by means of wealth. Such occurrences are not rare in Eastern Bengal.

There is no doubt that the original Káyasthas in Bengal occupied a humbler social position. The five servants after having gained their object by mendicancy, became intoxicated with their new dignity. They now strove to climb up to the highest rung of the social ladder. Not being content with having jumped over the heads of the Súdras, they felt that their position would not be complete unless the Vaisyas, who stood in their way of absolute supremacy, were pulled down from their position. The Vaisyas included the mercantile, the cultivating, the trading classes, the Vaniks and the ancient Tantuváyas and potters (?) whose forefathers (the primitive Aryas) came with the emigrants into Bharatvarsa. The Káyasthas must flourish their royal patent before the Súdras and Vaisyas alike. They dared not assume the *paita* custom, and usage forbade such an audacious feat, but it was in their power, with the backing of the monarch and their masters, the Bráhmanas, to strip the Vaisyas, at least of Bengal, of their thread. A fine opportunity presented itself to attain such an object. King Ballála, who established the order of Kulinism and extended it to the five servants of the Kanouj Bráhmanas, wanted money for State purposes and, in the absence of a statecraft that could devise an Income Tax or a Cadastral Survey, he hit upon an ingenious plan to fleece the well-to-do subjects of the realm. The Vaisyas who were too firm or too strong to be bent, like the reed, were let alone. The Suvarnavanik, though a Vaisya, was caught hold of as the first victim. True to his instinct of tenacity and close-fistedness, his Jewish character afforded facilities for the experiment of spoliation. He revolted at the idea of forced penury. He showed a bold front. He repudiated the power of the sovereign to reduce him to beggary. He refused to pay up his last lakh or to yield to further exactions. The result was that he was smashed to atoms. He saved his hoards, but lost his prestige and position, and with him his whole class was doomed. He was victimised, along with the goldsmith, on the silly pretext that the Suvarnavanik had scratched the image of a golden calf, and the shekra (goldsmith) had melted it in his crucible. The Suvarnavanik was deprived of his *paita*. The edict went

forth that none but the Bráhmaṇas should have the right to wear the sacred thread. The Kshatriyas, few if any, that lived in Ballála's *elaka*, were too high to be touched—higher than Ballála himself in social rank—he touched them not. All the Vaisya castes, or the Vaisya professions, were merged in the category of the Súdras. The other Vaniks dared not stand by the Suvarnavaniks. They sought their own interest, and submitted to the forfeiture of their vested rights. The other castes were equally dealt with, and the suppression of the *paita* became an easy task. But the test of ethnology and the immutable law of Manu were not easily effaceable. It was not in the power of a miserable Bengali monarch to revoke nature or to revolt against Manu's legislation. All the Vaisya classes submitted to their fate, but they submitted grudgingly. They grudged against the Káyasthas and the Káyasthas grudged against them. This grudging disposition—this feeling of jealousy—this feeling of disparaging all other classes than their own—gave rise to an *animus* which the Káyasthas alone indulged in, and which has continued to animate them to this day. It crops out in the uneducated well-to-do Káyasthas. The Káyastha lived under the *ægis* of the Bráhmaṇas. He styled himself *Das*—Dás Ghose, Dás Basu, Dás Mitra. This is the prescribed mode of address adopted by all classes of the Káyasthas, except the Uttara Rádhi Káyasthas.

The system of Kulinism and of Navasáyaka would, after the death of Ballála, have been abolished shortly, but for the unfortunate accident that the country lost its independence and passed into the hands of a foreign Government that never cared or dared to interfere with the inner machinery of the Hindu social system.—The Káyasthas of to-day may chuckle over the fact that the vicissitudes of age and the changes of Government affected them not in the position they attained by the crafty importunities of the Bráhmaṇas, and the effete imbecility of a silly monarch. The sanction of 800 years has placed the Káyasthas beyond the reach of clamour, and they have now a vested right to rejoice in the exceptional dignity that had been conferred on them, and which is denied to their brethren of the North-West—the Lálá Káyets. But the Suvarnavanik has survived the pains and penalties heaped on him by Ballála. His wealth stood by him against all his misfortunes. By its means he found his priest and his *guru*. Under the enlightened Government of the English, he has had his revenge on the Bráhmaṇas who boycotted him, who proclaimed the touch of his shadow as sinful.

If it be contended that the Vaisya professions in Bengal were followed not by the Vaisyas but by the Sudras—if it be urged that there was no Vaisya at the time the Káyasthas got their

patent, and that the Kulin Káyasthas had precedence over the original Káyasthas of Bengal, then it follows that the Káyastha's position was below that of the Súdra professions. The position of a man always and everywhere depends on his means. The Káyasthas were simply writers, sircars and muharrirs. The professions were, as they must always be, ahead of the clerical or *kerani* class, in point of wealth and importance. Looking at the territorial aristocracy of Bengal, we find that none of the Kulin Káyasthas have a place in it. The Rájás of Dinagepore, Jessore and Kánda and Shaorafully, and the Mahásayás of Tribeni (Hughly) are Karana Káyasthas, while the Bráhmaṇa Rájás of Krishnagore and Nattore hail, not from the Kulin stock, but from the class of very inferior Bráhmaṇas. The Rájá of Burdwan is a Punjabi Kshatriya. The real Kshatriyas of Bengal or the North-West do not recognise him as one of their sect or clan. Mysádal and Pakour are represented by Behar Bráhmaṇas. Narajole in Midnapore, one of the oldest houses, is owned by a Sadgope, while the Barbund Rájás of Cutwa (Birbhum) are Uttarárádhi Tantúvayas. The Maimansing Acháryas are of yesterday. Backerganj has but one old Brahmin family at Bakla, while Noakhali is represented by the Nath Jugi Tantis. It is curious that the Kulin Káyasthas—the Ghose, Bose and Mitra—are absent from the category of territorial aristocracy, nor have they distinguished themselves as great zemindars. Purandar Khan Basu was a minister of State, but his measures and action were confined to his own caste. He left estates that have disappeared by the lapse of a few generations. We can easily account for the absence of Kulin Bráhmaṇas from the list of purse-proud people of Bengal. Their profession was the Vedas and the Puranas. They were the custodians of learning; they held *toles* and were literally worshipped throughout the country. They everywhere found more than they required for their subsistence as land, money, clothes, shawls, &c., in rich *bidays* (বিনয়) and *barsik* (বার্ষিক). As distinguished scholars, pandits, philosophers, *naiyayiks*, law-givers, they were always honoured and revered. They held the spiritual realm of the people in their hands. But the profession of a Káyastha was service, and as servants they rose by pillage and spoliation of their employés. Mahárájá Navakrishna, the Clive-made man, amassed an immense fortune at a single stroke. He was not a zemindar nor a territorial aristocrat.

The Tagores of Calcutta rose as merchants and ended as zemindars. The Malliks and Setts and Bysacks never courted landed property, if they had, they would have left, like Alexander, no zemindari to be possessed by any other caste.

The Káyasthas are an intelligent class of people. They are naturally very shrewd in their dealings, and very pleasant in conversation. We shall have occasion, in the concluding portion of our article, to speak of their literary attainments. It will suffice for the present to say that their social dealings in some respects are very laudable and worthy to be imitated by people of other castes. As a rule, the wealthy members among them are seen to support distant and poor relatives, while such a spectacle is almost an exception among other classes of the Hindu community, the Bráhmanas, perhaps, excepted. Many instances are within our knowledge in which patriotic Káyasthas have been found supporting orphans and widows, thus fulfilling the grand mission for which an All-wise Providence has showered its blessings on them, and verifying by their virtuous action the poet's words :—

“ When wealth to virtuous hand is giv'n,
It blesses like the dews of Heav'n ;
Like Heav'n it hears the orphan's cries,
And wipes the tear from widow's eyes.”

The social tie of the Káyasthas appears to us to be strong—stronger than that which exists among people of other castes. It is true, there are many *dals* or factions among them, headed by certain wealthy and influential persons, and guided spiritually by some gigantic pandits. These *dals*, to all outward appearance, are opposed to one another in extraneous matters, but, in reality, they are the potent factors in creating germs of good and virtuous acts. In justice, however, to the Setts and Bysacks of Calcutta, we may remark that there was a time when they, like the Káyasthas, used to spend their money in public benefactions and in supporting widows and orphans, not only among their own caste-people, but also among people outside the pale of their own community ; but that time is gone—gone perhaps never to return.

(*To be continued.*)

ART. VII.—USURY LAWS.

“IT appears, by the balance of commodities and discommodities of Usury, two things are to be reconciled; the one that the tooth of Usury be grinded, that it bite not too much; the other, that there be left open a means to invite moneyed men to lend to the merchants, for the continuing and quickening of trade.” (Bacon).

A proposal is before the Supreme Legislative Council to reform the Usury laws in India, in a most important and essential point. It may be opportune, at this juncture, to review the past history of these laws, as prevalent in India and elsewhere, and note how far they have already undergone changes at the hands of our Legislature and Courts of Law, and how far it is desirable to amend them in the manner proposed by the Hon'ble Mohini Mohun Roy, in the Supreme Legislative Council.*

Interest is the sum which the borrower of capital undertakes to pay to the lender for its use.

In ancient times there was a wrong idea prevalent, that the rise and fall of interest depended on the scarcity or abundance of money in the market. Hume was the first to call this in question and show that the rate of interest had nothing to do with the amount of currency, and that it was determined by the average rate of profit derived from the employment of capital. In addition to such variations as are proportional to varieties in the general and average rate of profit, and which equally affect all loans, the rate of interest must also vary according to the degree of security afforded for the repayment of the principal, and the duration of the loan. Instead, however, of leaving the rate of interest to be adjusted by the free competition of parties on the preceding principle, the Governments of most countries have interfered, either to prohibit the taking of interest altogether, or to fix certain rates which it was declared legal to exact, at the same time that any excess over and above these prescribed rates, was declared to be *usury*, and prohibited under the severest penalties. But all these attempts to limit the rate of interest, instead of reducing, have always tended to raise, it. So far from succeeding in their object, they have had exactly an opposite effect.

This is not an empirical theory, but is entirely and uniformly supported by practical experience. Thus, at Rome during the commonwealth, the ordinary rate of interest was

* The Bill is given at the end of article.

excessively high. The debtors were threatening to deprive their creditors not only of the interest, but of the principal itself. The latter were therefore obliged to indemnify themselves by means of a corresponding premium, for the risks to which they were exposed.

In Mahomedan countries, in spite of the positive prohibition in the Koran, the ordinary rate of interest is at least ten or twenty times as high as its ordinary rate in Europe. (*Esprit de Loix*, livxxi, ch. 19).

In France the rate of interest was fixed at five per cent as early as 1665, and this continued to be the legal rate until the Revolution. Laverdy reduced it to four. Instead, however, of the market rate being proportionately reduced, it was raised from five to six per cent. The usury laws were abolished at the Revolution, and it is distinctly stated that their abolition was not attended by any rise of interest. The statutory rate in France now is nine per cent. There is, however, no difficulty in evading this law. The method resorted to for this purpose is, to give a *bonus* before completing the transaction; or, which is the same thing, to frame the obligation for the debt for a larger sum than was really advanced by the lender.

In Russia six per cent. is the rate of interest prescribed by law. The market rate is invariably higher, and the law is evaded easily and constantly.

Throughout Austria the statute rate is six per cent., but money can never be had under ten.

In the United States legal interest was fixed for a long time at six per cent., but the market rate fluctuates from ten to twelve. But in various parts of the Union—especially in the most fruitful and beautiful states of Virginia and Carolina, the restraints on usury have been done away with somewhat recently.

In England, down to the reign of Henry VIII, the taking of interest was absolutely forbidden to all excepting Jews and foreigners, who nevertheless were frequently plundered by the Crown for the sake of enriching the royal exchequer under the plea of punishing them for their "hellish extortions." The evil effects of the interference of Government became so palpable, that in 1546, a law was passed legalising the maximum rate of interest at ten per cent per annum. In 1552, in the reign of Edward VI, the taking of interest was again prohibited. The ordinary rate of interest, instead of being reduced, at once rose to fourteen per cent. In 1571 an Act was passed (13 Eliz. Cap. 8) repealing this, and reverting to a legal rate of ten per cent interest. This was reduced, in the reign of James I, to eight, during the Commonwealth to six, and finally, in Queen Anne's reign, to five per cent.

In olden days it was considered a heinous moral wrong to require, in repayment of a loan, anything over and above the sum originally lent, and hence the origin of laws against usury, which limited, or even prohibited, the exaction of interest by money-lenders. The origin of these laws was of course to protect borrowers against unscrupulous Shylocks. In an age when profitable investment was unheard of, and a man's money used to be mainly hoarded up, the existence of these laws might be very well tolerated, for he suffered nothing by lending, provided the money lent was paid back to him. In Christian countries usury was always regarded with abhorrence, because of its prohibition in some of the texts of Scripture. The prejudice against it might also be traced to the dislike universally entertained in remote ages to accumulation. There can be no accumulation without economy, without a saving of income: and this was not only then considered indicative of a sordid or avaricious disposition, but as being positively hurtful.

Society, however, has greatly changed since then, and the manifold ways in which capital can now be invested and profitably utilized, have brought into the field a very large class of business men who borrow for *profit* and not for *necessity*, and who most gladly give the lender a fair share of the profit in the shape of interest.

In the palmy days of Roman civilization, however, it was thought no indignity to lend money at a high rate of interest. Even democrats had quite as great a love for lending as aristocrats. The elder Cato was a usurer. One of his means of making money was by keeping in pledge young half-fed slaves at a usurious interest. He used to fatten them up and train them to work, and eventually, after the due date of payment had expired, he sold them at an enhanced price. Brutus, when in the Isle of Cyprus, lent his money at 48 per cent. interest, and no one thought the worse of him for his usury (Cicero's Letters). Washington, the hero of American independence, bequeathed both his bonds and his slaves to his wife. Many other illustrious names might be added from history; but these will suffice for our purpose to show that, in some of the most highly civilized States, money-lending, even at a most usurious rate, was considered a respectable profession by even some of the greatest men of the day, who themselves practised it on a large scale. The opinion that money should be borrowed and repaid, or bought and sold, upon whatever terms the parties might agree to, like any other property, had gained ground in Rome, even at such a distant period.

The folly of laws restricting interest was successfully exposed

by Jeremy Bentham in his essay entitled 'Defence of Usury,' which was published in England in the year 1787. The prejudices that gave rise to the usury laws maintained their ground for nearly half the present century, long after every thinking man was convinced that such an interference with private trade was positively detrimental to public prosperity, and was clearly opposed to the principles of civil liberty and public policy. That the usury laws generate the very mischief they are intended to suppress, is now considered almost an axiom amongst political economists of the United Kingdom. Far from checking, they most unquestionably multiply usurious transactions in a ten-fold proportion, and powerfully aggravate the evils of usury. They can never protect the prodigal and the unwary—the least valuable class of society—for whose weal so much solicitude is shown. It is a clear and patent fact, which Bentham has conclusively shown, that tradesmen make raw customers pay a great deal more than money-lenders would do; and he asks, where is the sense of stopping the expenditure of the prodigal at the faucet, while there are so many ways of letting it out at the bung-hole? The temptation of a higher profit than usual is absolutely necessary to induce capitalists to embark in new trades. The usury laws, however, prevent any capital from finding its way into those channels by way of loan, and directly discourage projects, such as invention and improvement, in all the arts of life; for, without discouraging the useful and the good, they cannot discourage the wild and the bad.

It is only within the last few years that Parliament has carried out the above principle which political economists had preached for a century, and permitted the rate of interest to regulate itself according to the exigencies of the time and the nature of things, by abolishing the Usury Laws.

There have been rather conflicting opinions regarding the legal rate of interest and its limitation in India in ancient times. The primary source of our knowledge on the subject is, of course, the text of Manu, and the other original authorities. In the Law of Manu it is thus written:—'A professional money-lender may take one-eightieth part of a hundred rupees as monthly interest for every hundred rupees, when the loan is not covered by a mortgage' (viii, 140). Thus Manu allows Rs. 1-4 interest per mensem per cent on loans which are not mortgages. In the next passage Manu says 'that a monthly interest of Rs 2 per cent may be charged without committing any sin.' (viii. 141).

A creditor will take 2 per cent from a Brahmin, 3 per cent from a Khetrya, 4 per cent from a Vyasya, and 5 per cent from a Sudra debtor as monthly interest (viii, 142).

If the debtor keeps with the creditor moveable or immoveable property as mortgage for the latter's use and enjoyment, he will not have to pay any interest separately. Even if the interest, by lapse of time, becomes double the principal, the creditor shall have no right either to sell off or give away the property to any one. (viii. 143).

Interest paid at one time shall never exceed the double : on grain, fruit, wool and beasts of burden, it shall not be more than five times. (viii. 151).

A creditor can realize 5 per cent interest monthly for a year, in case there is a stipulation that interest will be payable monthly, two-monthly, or three-monthly. (viii. 153)

When a debtor desires to renew his bond, he should pay off all interests due up to date of such renewal. (viii. 154).

If he can't pay off the whole interest, he should renew the bond for principal as well as for balance of interest. (viii. 155).

It will thus be seen, from the above texts of Manu, that there was never any legal or statutory rate of interest prevalent in India in ancient times during the reign of the Hindu Rajas. That great lawgiver himself suggests that interest may be charged from Rs 1-4 to Rs 5 per cent. per month, under different circumstances.

As regards limitation of interest Manu says, that interest paid at one time, *i.e.* arrears of interest, shall never exceed the *double*. In other words it shall not be more than double the amount of the principal. This seems to be the most natural explanation of the text of Manu (viii. 151) which, on account of its very great importance, I am obliged to quote in the original below :—

কুসীদ্বন্ধি দ্বৈগুণ্যং নাত্যেতি সৰুদাহত।

ধাত্তে সদে লবে বাহে নাতিক্রামতি পঞ্চতাং ॥

I am supported in this view by no less an oriental scholar and antiquarian than George Bühler. In his translation of the Sacred Books of the East series, vol. xxv. p 280, he renders the passage thus : "In money transactions interest paid at one time (not by instalments) shall never exceed the double (of the principal)." He says further on in his notes—"the interest here intended is such which is not paid by instalments, but becomes due together with the principal." According to the commentators, however, the whole sum payable, *i.e.* the interest together with the principal, shall not exceed the double of the sum lent, or in special cases, five times that amount. This can hardly, however, be the *literal* meaning of the text. Opinions differ widely on the point. Harington says with reference to this discussion : 'A considerable difference of construction

has been given by the commentators upon the Hindu Law of contracts, to the texts with respect to the limitation of interest, and the invalidity or immorality only of usurious loans and engagements.' (Analysis, Part I, s.3. p. 181.) And Sir Thomas Strange says in his Hindu Law, vol I. p 298: 'Involved in apparent contradiction, the subject is considered by Jaganatha to be intricate, nor has his commentary always the effect of elucidating what is obscure, or disentangling what is perplexed.' The Judges of the High Court, Prinsep, Wilson and Norris, JJ, have said on this point, after quoting the opinions of the aforesaid eminent jurists: 'We agree with these remarks, and cannot gather any distinct rule from this source.' (I.L.R. Cal 14)

The rule of *Damdapat* is, that interest exceeding in amount the principal sum lent, cannot be realized at one time. You may take almost any amount as interest, if you take it by degrees; but you cannot recover at any one time more interest than is equal to the principal.

There is very little doubt that this rule is mainly based on the much vexed text of Manu, viii, 151, the literal interpretation of which is, that interest exceeding double the principal cannot be realized at any one time.

The first and most important question which arises in the discussion of the laws of usury is—'How much interest is recoverable by a party who has advanced a loan to another?'

Since the repeal of the usury laws by Act XXVIII of 1855, a party is quite at liberty to contract a loan at any rate of interest he likes, and he is bound to pay at that rate to his creditor. A contract to pay interest is sometimes implied from custom and usage, but in the absence of these, an express stipulation is essential. The so-called rule of Hindu law, which is better known to lawyers as the rule of *Damdapat*, prevails, where the parties are Hindus, in the Bombay Presidency and the original side of the Calcutta High Court. In Madras and in the Provinces of Bengal and elsewhere, it has been ruled, however, that the Hindu law is not binding with respect to such matters, and no such limitation exists.

This rule of *Damdapat* was first introduced at Bombay in the case of *Dhondu Jagannath v. Naryan Ramchandra*, 1. A. C. 47. The purport of that ruling is to the following effect:—'By Hindu law the amount recoverable at any one time for interest or arrears of interest on money lent, cannot exceed the principal; but if the principal remain outstanding, and the interest be paid in smaller sums from time to time, there is no limit to the amount which may be thus received in respect of interest. The previous decisions of the Sadr Court to the contrary overruled.'

From the above it will appear that the Bombay Sadr Court used to allow interest up to any amount, and did not recognise the rule of *Damdapat* as binding between parties in loan transactions. This rule is of latter day introduction. It was never in existence in Bombay or in Bengal before, nor in any other part of the country.

The enactments for checking usury were passed in Bengal by the East India Company in the year 1793, Reg. XV; in Bombay in the year 1827, Reg. V, and in Madras in the year 1802, Reg. XXXIV. The interest was restricted to twelve per cent. per annum, and a provision was made against an award of interest in excess of the principal in any suit brought on loan transactions. It is clear that the rates of interest hitherto authorised by custom had amounted to the most exorbitant usury, and Reg. 1772 of 21st August says this, in so many words. The repeal of these Usury Laws, however, in 1855, shows unmistakeably that the remedy proposed proved worse than the disease, and that the evils of usury were aggravated instead of being remedied by these statutory restrictions of interest. The attempt of the Hon'ble Mohini Mohun Roy is practically to reinforce the repealed regulations in the provinces of Bengal and elsewhere.

To resume the history of the case law regarding the rule of *Damdapat*. In Bengal this ruling was first introduced by Justice Wilson, in a case on the original side of the High Court in I.L.R. 5, Calcutta 867. This was a case of Small Cause Court reference. The interest, together with the principal, Rs. 400, amounted to more than Rs. 1,000, and the Court allowed only Rs. 800, following the text of Manu and the Bombay case quoted above. In Bengal, however, outside the Presidency towns, interest in amount exceeding the principal is recoverable among Hindus.

This was decided first in the case of *Kali Prosad Misser vs. Gobind Chunder Sen*, 2. W. R. 1. It was followed in the case of *Horomonee Gupta vs. Gobind Chunder Chowdhury*, 5 W. R. 51, and in the case of *Omda Khanum vs. Brojendro Coomar Roy Chowdhury*, 12 B. L. R., 451. The Judgment in the case of *Surj Narain Singh vs. Surdhari Lol*, C. L. R. XII. 400, after entering into some details in respect of the law relating to usury in Lower Bengal, concludes thus :—' It would thus appear that from the earliest time up to the year 1874, no claim for a reduction of interest has ever been allowed on the ground of Hindu Law or usage; but, on the contrary, that this contention, whenever raised, has always been repudiated, and in several cases the Courts granted interest beyond the principal. In this respect the Courts in the province of Lower Bengal have been in no way singular. The very same

point has been decided in conformity with this view in the N.-W. P., to which the Bengal Regulations apply, and in Madras, where the Regulation is of similar import. In the case of *Aranaji Ran vs. Ragubi*, 6. Madras, H. C. R., 400, the Court at Madras declared that in the matter of interest the Hindu Law was not binding in the Mofussil. So that there is a complete consensus of opinion in Bengal, in the N.-W. P. and in Madras, that, since the passing of Act XXVIII of 1855, a Hindu may claim from another, interest in excess of the principal. We do not refer to the cases in the Bombay Presidency, because, as appears from the case reported at 3 Bombay, H. C. R., 23, the Regulations in that Presidency were different from those in Bengal and Madras.'

In Indian Law Reports XIV, Calcutta 781, a fuller history of the Usury Laws is given on this point, and I quote the following passages from it :—

'It is well settled that in this province, outside the Presidency town, no rule limiting the amount of interest to a sum equal to the principal, prevails. This has been held in *Deen Doyal Poramanick vs. Koylas Chandra Pal Chowdhry*, I. L. R. 1, Calcutta 92, and others ; and it is no doubt an anomaly that there should be one rule in Calcutta on such a point and another outside it. But a comparison of the history of the law of contracts in the Presidency town with that in other parts shows, we think, that the difference *does* exist. The Statute 21, George III, c. 70, s. 17, required the Supreme Court of Fort William to determine "all matters of contract, and dealing between party and party in the case of Gentus, by the laws and usages of Gentus." There was never any such legislative provision in force in the rest of the province.'

The judgment in the concluding paragraph, after saying that the rule of *Damdapat* cannot have been taken from the vague commentaries on Manu, regarding the restriction and limitation of interest, comes to the following decision :—

'All the later authorities agree in understanding the rule of *Damdapat* as it has been laid down by the Bombay Court. Thus Sir Thomas Strange so states it ; and in the appendix to Chapter XII, he gives a case, to which are appended remarks by Colebrooke and Ellis, both of whom independently, and without hesitation, state the law to the same effect. Lastly there is the long series of decisions in the Bombay High Court and this Court, from the whole of which we must dissent if we were to hold, either that the rule of *Damdapat* is a mere moral precept, or that it does not apply to stipulated interest. And that we are not prepared to do. *The anomaly of the present state of the law, if it is to be removed, can only be removed by the Legislature.*'

Thus there is a whole series of cases from the earliest times to show that, in Bengal, interest beyond the principal is demandable amongst Hindus. * Further the Judges of the High Court throw out a hint that, while in the whole province of Bengal interest exceeding the principal is allowed, it is singular that Calcutta should have a different rule of law. This anomaly of the present state of the law, if it is to be removed, can only be removed by the Legislature. These words of the Judges of the High Court clearly show that the anomaly might well be removed, and full effect given to the repeal of the Usury Laws by abolishing the rule of *Damdapat* in Calcutta itself.

The Hon'ble Babu Mohini Mohun Roy's Bill is exactly the reverse of this. He will introduce practically the rule of *Damdapat* in the province of Bengal and elsewhere, outside the Presidency town, to which alone it is now confined in its operation.

That it is a serious anomaly in the law, that in Calcutta you cannot, if you are a Hindu, get more than the principal sum as interest, while in the Mofussil you can realize as much as you like, no one can deny for a moment. A very apt illustration of this is given by the Hon'ble Mohini Mohun Roy in the statement of his objects and reasons to his Bill. In a case decided by the Calcutta High Court, compound interest at 33 per cent. amounted in ten years to $17\frac{1}{2}$ times the principal. The High Court held that the defendant was bound by "the bargain which he had entered into," and stated in its judgment that the rate of interest was not higher than had been allowed in other cases. The object of the Bill is to remove the existing anomaly, and to place a limit upon the award of interest.

It will be convenient to discuss the arguments for and against this Bill at the end of this article. In the meanwhile let us see how far our Courts of Justice will relieve borrowers from hard and inequitable contracts. This is a most important subject connected with the matter of extortionate interest.

In a country like India, millions of contracts are entered into by persons of the most ignorant, improvident and helpless classes, and it is only fair and reasonable that there should be some rule of law to counteract the ruinous results which may otherwise follow. Unfortunately there is much divergence of opinion amongst the views of the several High Courts on this point.

The cases which require prominent mention under this subject, are those where a sum is named to be paid in case of

* And that never was a reduction of interest allowed on the ground of Hindu law or usage.

breach of contract. Section 74 of the Contract Act governs them. That section says:—'When a contract has been broken, if a sum is named in the contract as the amount to be paid in case of such breach, the party complaining of the breach is entitled, whether or not actual damage or loss is proved to have been caused thereby, to receive from the party who has broken the contract, reasonable compensation not exceeding the amount so named?' This section does away with the distinction in English law between 'penalty' and 'liquidated damages.'

The stipulation to pay a given sum of money on breach of a contract is quite distinct from that of an obligation to do one thing, and in the alternative, an independent obligation to do another thing. This distinction, however, is not easy to make from the language of an instrument, and consequently there had been a good deal of controversy over this amongst jurists and the Judges of the several High Courts. Latterly there has been a uniformity of opinion on this subject, although its logical accuracy is open to question.

The stipulation, for instance, that, on default in payment of one instalment, the whole balance due on the bond is to be paid at once, is not a penal one; it would be so, if, on default, a larger sum than that originally due were agreed to be paid. Similarly the stipulation to pay compound interest, or interest at a higher rate, is not penal in its nature, and does not fall within the purview of s. 74 of the Contract Act. In these cases no sum is mentioned in case of breach.

But if the higher rate of interest in case of non-payment of the principal on the date fixed in the contract is payable from the commencement of the loan, s. 74 of the Contract Act has been held to be applicable. Curiously enough, it does not apply if it is payable from the date fixed for the repayment of the loan. The anomaly of this ruling will be best shown by an illustration. A person sues another on a mortgage bond in which there is a stipulation that the latter borrows a sum of Rs. 5,000 at 2 per cent. monthly interest and compound interest at six monthly rests, and that unless the money with interest is repaid within 8 months, a higher rate of interest at 4 per cent. monthly will be charged with compound interest at six monthly rests from the date of the bond. The same person sues another on a bond containing the very same terms of contract, excepting that the stipulation to pay the higher rate of interest is to be calculated from the date of the breach and not from the date of the bond. In this case, if the suit is instituted after a lapse of six years, the claim will be laid at a sum of no less than Rs. 70,000:

although the principal lent is no more than a poor five thousand. In the first case, according to the present rulings of the High Courts, only a reasonable amount will be awarded as compensation to the plaintiff, while in the second case he gets a decree for the whole amount of Rs. 70,000. The difference in these two illustrations lies in a legal quibble—in the distinction so prominently made between the stipulation for the payment of the higher rate of interest from the date of the bond, and that for the payment of the same 'from the date of the breach.' But there is a whole array of cases in our High Courts in favour of this distinction, amongst which the cases of *Mackintosh v. Crow*, I. L. R. 9, Calcutta 689, and *Nanjappa v. Nanjappa* I. L. R. 12, Mad. 161, are the most notable. This view of the law was strongly dissented from by Justices Mitter and Macpherson in I. L. R. 14, Cal. 248, holding that the distinction was unreal, and that s. 74 of the Contract Act did not apply in either case. The Allahabad High Court also held the same view in I. L. R. 9, All. 690.

Therefore, a proviso either for retrospective enhancement of interest, or for a prospective one in default of the payment at a due date, was held by both the High Courts of Calcutta and Allahabad as a part of the primary contract between the parties, and not penal. This was undoubtedly quite in conformity with the tendency of Courts of Equity as well as of Courts of Law, and that is, to interfere, as little as possible, with the expressed intention of the contracting parties.

A Full Bench decision of the Calcutta High Court, *Kala Chand Kyl v. Shib Chunder Roy*, I. L. R., 19 Cal. 392, however, swept away this rule, and declared a provision for enhancement of interest retrospectively to be penal. It held prospective enhancement alone good and valid, thus dissenting from, and overruling, the view of law laid down by Mr. Justice Mitter in *Baij Nath Singh v. Skah Ali Hossain*, I. L. R. 14, Cal. 248. The Bombay High Court has always held this view. The decisions of the Calcutta and the Bombay High Courts now agree on this point, the Allahabad High Court alone standing aloof from them. The Full Bench case of the Bombay High Court, I. L. R. 17, Bombay 106, after reviewing the Calcutta cases and other legal authorities on this point, says:—"We think the safer conclusion is that a proviso for retrospective enhancement of interest, in default of the payment of the interest at due date, is, generally a penalty which should be relieved against, but that a proviso for enhanced interest in the future cannot be considered as a penalty, unless the enhanced rate be such as to lead to the conclusion that it could not have been intended to be part of the primary contract between the parties, as may well be

deemed to have been the case in *Bichook Nath v. Ram Lochun*, 11 B. L. R. 135, and *Pava v. Gobind*, 10 B. H. C. Rep. 382'.

Thus there is a difference between the decisions of the Full Bench of the Calcutta and the Bombay High Courts, even with reference to the prospective enhancement of interest not being penal. The Calcutta High Court says, that it is never a penalty, but the Bombay High Court says, that it is not generally a penalty, which it would be if the enhanced rate were such as to lead to the conclusion that it could not have been intended to be part of the original contract between the parties. The Allahabad High Court is of the view, that it is not a penalty, whether the enhanced interest is prospective or retrospective.

In every case, however, the 'tooth of usury should be grinded, that it bite not too much' is what Lord Bacon says in his essay on Usury. It seems that the Bombay High Court has kept this principle in view, while discussing the the law regarding interest in the Full Bench Case in I. L. R. 17, Bombay 106. Every case must be decided on its merits, and if the enhanced rate of interest from the date of the breach be such as to lead to the conclusion that it could not have been intended to be part of the original contract between the parties, the Bombay High Court justly says, that it will interfere to relieve the borrower and make the contract a penal one.

So far the question of 'penalty,' and how far our Courts of justice will relieve borrowers from extortionate interest in such cases. But the mere fact that the terms are exorbitant is, by itself, no ground whatsoever for not enforcing an agreement, unless there is something hard and unconscionable in the bargain.

This view of the law was held by the Allahabad High Court in the case of *Banwari Dass v. Mahomed Mashiat*, I L. R. 9, Allahabad, 690. The following quotation from the judgment will be sufficient to explain it :—

'We thoroughly agree with the opinion expressed by the late Master of the Rolls, Sir George Jessel, in his judgment in *Wallis v. Smith*, where he said :—"I have always thought, and still think, that it is of the utmost importance as regards contracts between adults, persons not under disability and at arm's length, that the Courts of law should maintain the performance of the contracts according to the intention of the parties; that they should not overrule any clearly expressed intention on the ground, that Judges know the business of the people better than the people know it themselves. I am perfectly well aware that there are exceptions, but they are exceptions of a legislative character The borrower

is under no compulsion to borrow the money from the particular lender, but if he does agree to accept it on the terms stipulated for by the lender, he and his assigns must, if there is no fraud and nothing illegal or obviously unconscionable in the transaction, abide by the contract. Equity does not relieve a borrower from the performance of his contract on the mere ground that his contract was a foolish one, or on the ground that he might have made a contract more advantageous to himself by applying elsewhere.'

The Madras High Court in I. L. R., 10 Mad. 203, in the case of *Appa Ran v. Suryanarayana* has laid down very clearly the law which should guide the Courts in their decision in such cases. It is there said that the true principle of decision, is that a Court should not interfere to protect persons who, with their eyes open, choose knowingly to enter into even somewhat extortionate bargains, but that it is only when a person has entered into such a bargain in ignorance of the unfair nature of the transaction, advantage having been taken of youth, ignorance, or credulity, that a Court of Equity is justified in interfering, *Mackintosh v. Wingrove*, I. L. R. 4 Cal. 137. If the bargain is hard and unconscionable, the Court has a power to relieve borrowers. The Allahabad High Court refused to enforce such a bargain in *Madhu Singh v. Kashi Ram*, I. L. R. 9, Allahabad 228. In this case the principal sum was Rs. 99, but it swelled to Rs. 680, as there was compound interest at 2 per cent per mensem, and, it was found that advantage was taken by the plaintiff of the fact that the defendant was being pressed by the *tahsil* for immediate payment of revenue due, to induce him to execute the bond, charging compound interest at the above-mentioned rate, notwithstanding that ample security was given by mortgage of landed property. It was also found that, although, under the terms of the bond, the plaintiff had power to enforce the same at any time, by bringing to sale the mortgaged property, he had willingly allowed the debt to remain unsatisfied, in order that compound interest at a high rate might accumulate. It was held that the bargain was a hard and unconscionable one, which the Court had undoubted power to enforce, and which, under all the circumstances, it would be unreasonable and inequitable for a Court of Justice to give full effect to; and that under the circumstances, compound interest should not be allowed. The authorities cited were *Kamini Sundari Chaudhurani v. Kali Prossonno Ghose*, I. L. R. 12 Cal, 225 (Privy Council) and *Beynon v. Cook*, L. R. 10, Ch. App. 389.

It will thus be apparent from the above that our Courts of Justice have undoubted authority to relieve borrowers, in penalty

cases, and those of hard and unconscionable bargains. It is said that these are not sufficient, and that they leave the debtor still much at the mercy of the creditor, and that Shylock is still entitled to delivery of his pound of flesh.

Much of this sentiment will be found to be the reflection of an older order of ideas—ideas against accumulation and money-making. The repeal of Usury Laws has made it lawful to take any rate of interest for money; yet the taking of usurious interest is not thought to be respectable, and our Courts of Justice as Courts of Equity, have evidently great difficulty in bringing themselves to a complete recognition of the new principle.

In a free country freedom of contract should be allowed without any restriction whatsoever. The limitation of interest to the amount of the principal is practically a restriction of the rate of interest to cent per cent. Any legislative measure to that effect, now, after the abolition of the Usury Laws, will be arbitrary and unjustifiable, while for the debtor it will be a case of from the frying pan to the fire. I entirely fail to see why, if my debtor chooses to use my money after interest has accumulated, so as to be equal to the principal, he should cease to pay me further interest on it and enjoy it freely. If I lend it elsewhere after the capital has doubled itself, I shall get interest on the doubled sum all the same. If the borrower pays me off directly the loan has doubled, by taking a loan from elsewhere, he will have to pay interest on the whole of this double amount. But if the original loan had continued, he had only to pay interest on the principal alone, unless it were a case of compound interest. The creditor will now—after the bill is passed into law always be on the alert. Directly the debt is doubled, he will at once have recourse to legal measures. This will add greatly to the burden of the poor debtor, who will be driven more and more into the hands of the usurious money-lender, for he must either raise a fresh, and at the same time a much larger loan for the repayment of the first one, or have his property sold up. In either case he is a loser. Loans contracted in a hurry generally fetch greater interest, for the debtor is at a disadvantage and hard-pressed for money for the purpose of immediate payment. Add to these the attorney's costs for drawing up the deeds each time, the value of the stamps, and the costs of the suit. They are sure to cripple the debtor far more than if the original principal, after being doubled, had to carry interest at the same rate and run on. As for the sale of properties in execution of decrees, it is a well-known fact that most valuable estates often do not fetch half their proper value, which they would do, if they were sold privately. Then there is another most absurd thing in connection with

this *Damdapat* rule, which is the same as the proposed Bill of the Hon'ble Mohini Mohun Roy, *viz.* that you can realize interest up to any amount, without limit, if you take it in part-payments, but you cannot do it in a lump. It is practically saying to the debtor:—'Don't pay interest at all. If you do, you will have to pay much more in the end.' Directly this Bill is passed all amicable payments of interest will cease, so long as any debt is left outstanding. The debtors will find it to their advantage, for they will then not have to pay any interest exceeding the principal.

But the money-lender will say, 'If the Bill will not allow arrears of interest exceeding the principal to be realized, why I shall devise artful dodges to evade it. I shall make the borrower renew the bond every time interest accumulates and becomes more than the principal, adding to the principal the whole of the interest and making it a consolidated amount.' So on and on the money-lender goes. The party who alone benefits thereby is the Government, in the shape of stamps, by the constant renewal of these bonds. In strict logic, then, the law should taboo all forms of renewal of the above kind. But there is no worse enemy of law than logic. Were legislators strictly logical, laws would soon cease to exist. The community would rise against them as one man.

Like the rule of *Damdapat* the Hon'ble Member's Bill does not apply in cases of usufructuary mortgage, where the rents and profits of the usufruct are taken by the creditor in satisfaction of his debt. This particular kind of mortgage will henceforth be taken by creditors in preference to other mortgages. It does not also apply to pawning or pledging business.

If the Bill is based on the text of Manu and other sages of old, it may very well be applied to Hindus, as the rule of *Damdapat* does; but it cannot apply, as it is intended to do, to the diverse nations residing in India, irrespective of their caste, creed and colour. It will thus be a more sweeping one than its original, the rule of *Damdapat*, of which it is an imitation.

This Bill is not a new thing. It is virtually the Usury Laws contained in the old Regulations mentioned heretofore in this article, which were in vogue in Bengal, Madras and the North-West, and which were weighed in the balance and found wanting. It is the old Regulations of Usury over again, *minus* the so-called restrictive *rate* of interest. In those Regulations it was expressly provided that interest, exceeding the principal, will not be allowed. The Usury Laws both here and in England were repealed, not by a stroke of the pen, but after a most full and careful enquiry into their working.

The Report of the Committee on the Usury Laws, laid before the House of Commons in 1818, contains much valuable evidence, establishing the impolicy and the pernicious effects of these laws in the clearest manner. A report was also submitted to the Governor-General's Council in India, regarding the working of the Usury Laws here, a few years prior to 1855. What successive generations of English statesmen and political economists have done in a century, should not be undone by a few hours' deliberation of the Council Chamber in India. A couple of stray cases of hard usurious bargains were held up before the sympathetic group of Councillors, and a conclusion was arrived at, that it was high time that such bargains should be put a stop to by the rigour of law. Sir Alexander Miller mentioned a case in which a ryot borrowed Rs. 10, paid subsequently Rs. 110 (eleven times the original sum) and after ten years found himself still encumbered with a debt of Rs. 220 ! Supposing that this money was taken by instalments of Rs. 10 monthly, the Hon'ble Member will be surprised to find that this Bill will not affect in the least the creditor's position, and he can quietly pocket the whole amount of Rs. 320 without coming within the clutches of it. Prodigals and spendthrifts, who will play ducks and drakes with their money, cannot be protected by all the laws of civilized Government. If you can stop the money-lender by arbitrary laws, certainly you cannot stop the other people—the whole host of merchants and traders—jewellers, dress-makers, outfitters, carriage-builders, &c.,—from running up their usurious bills against them. It is not so much by borrowing money at high interest, as by contracting debts to merchants, on whose charges there is no check, that spendthrifts generally run through their fortunes. Mr. Smiles thus speaks about this class of spendthrifts in his excellent book on 'Thrift':—'What madness it is to run in debt for superfluities ! We buy fine articles—finer than we can pay for. We are offered six months'—twelve months' credit ! It is the shop-keeper's temptation ; and we fall before it. We are too spiritless to live upon our own earnings, but must meanwhile live upon others.' It is impossible to protect such a class of people. One might as well try to turn the tide of the Hooghly. As long as there are spendthrifts, there will be found disreputable money-lenders, too. Prudent men will never borrow money at high interest and then go to sleep. To those borrowers who refuse to renew their creditors' bonds, or who do not contract fresh loans to liquidate the first, this Bill may do some good. But how many are there on the surface of the earth that can do so, that do not yield to the temptation to put off the evil day as far as possible,

unmindful of the monstrous dimensions which the evil will assume later on? *Wealthy* debtors who do not wake up from their sleep and never think of paying off their debts, are the only class of people who will be benefited by this Bill! But such men can be counted on one's fingers.

The *Pioneer* has of late been writing a good deal about the agricultural indebtedness of India being the result of usury. It is afraid that most of the valuable estates and landed properties will ultimately go into the hands of the money-lenders, as many have already gone to them. There is nothing unnatural in this state of things, that the people who have got the longest purse will get the richest estates in the long run. So it has been in England, where great lords with vast landed estates are often daily oppressed and made miserable by loads of debts. They or their forefathers having contracted extravagant habits—a taste for gambling, horse-racing, or expensive living,—they borrow money on their estates, and the burden of debt remains. The debts, being generally inherited with the estates, are often more than the value of the estates. 'Thus it happens that a large part of the lands of England are at this moment the property of mortgagees and money-lenders. (Smiles' 'Thrift' p. 260.) This state of things is inevitable and nothing in the world can alter it.

If the Government is really desirous of proceeding with this Bill, it will be no good to consult the heads of Governments and the District Officers alone. Their experience in these matters is very limited. It is the civil judicial officers, the High Court and the District Judges, Subordinate Judges and Munsiffs who have opportunities of deciding suits based on simple and mortgage bonds, that should be consulted in this all-important matter. A Committee of Inquiry, consisting of half a dozen members, selected from our official and non-official classes, Europeans as well as Natives, should be appointed to gather accurate statistics and make detailed enquiries on this subject. They should visit all the provinces, take evidence of all sorts and classes of people who can throw light on the subject—the leading men of each district, the landholder, the lawyer, the money-lender, the ryot, the debtor, the shop-keeper and the broker. If, after such an enquiry, it is found that Usury is really running rampant in the country, *then* it will be time for consideration whether any, and what measures can be successfully adopted for grinding the tooth of Usury. We have seen that there are reasonable safeguards in our law against usurious, hard, and unconscionable bargains, and that our Courts of Justices do now and then take serious notice of them, and relieve borrowers whenever it is deemed necessary to do so.

I cannot conclude this article better than by saying in the words of Lord Bacon : ' To speak of the abolition of Usury is idle : all States in this world have ever had it in one kind or rate or other : so as that opinion must be sent to Utopia.'

JEREMY BENTHAM.

The Hon'ble Mohini Mohun Roy's Bill :—

No Civil Court shall, in any suit for a simple money-debt or a mortgage-debt, instituted after the commencement of this Act, decree or award interest exceeding in amount the original principal, or where there has been payment in reduction of principal, exceeding in amount the reduced principal.

Explanation.—The word "interest" means the amount of interest due or payable at the date of the suit, exclusive of payments previously made.

ART. VIII—HALAYUDHA.

HIS LIFE AND TIMES.

Brahmana Sarvaswa.—" *The Brahman's Vade Mecum*," being an every-day Guide to the Brahmans in the performance of all their religious rites and ceremonies. By Halayudha. Published in Benares.

Kavi Rahasya.—" *Witt's Treasury*," a short treatise on Roots and their conjugation. Published by Gopal Narayan & Co. Bombay.

OF the many wise bards and learned sages "who filled the spacious times" of our great and pious king, Lakshmana Sen, none figures so prominently as Halayudha. During his reign, the sweet, melodious out-pourings of Jayadeva were first heard. He was decidedly "the Messenger of glad tidings"—the eminent forerunner of a race of illustrious poets, who have created an era in our literature. His greatest work, the *Gita-Govinda*, is undoubtedly one of the finest lyrics in the Sanskrit language. Govardhanacharjya, following the example of his great predecessor, Mammata Bhatta, left behind him an important work on literary criticism. The works of both, *Kāvyaprokash* and *Aryasaptasati*, have come down to us and are judged by competent authorities to be inestimable pieces of art critique in Sanskrit. Sree Harsa, the renowned author of *Naisadha-Charita*, comes next. His great epic, which we have just named, bears a strong resemblance to the poems of Jayadeva, at least in its outer frame-work. He has left behind him an undying fame. The majestic rhythm and the perfect finish of his verse are all his own. Last, though not the least, comes Umapatidhar, the eminent poet-laureate, now known to us as the writer of those valuable inscriptions of Lakshmana Sen. Unfortunately his works have perished; but from the testimony borne by contemporary writers, we may surmise that he was a poet of no mean order. Jayadeva, for instance, testifies to his "having made language sprout into luxuriant foliage."*

But, besides these brilliant men, there were some who directed the energy of their genius towards another great object. These were the social reformers who had seen the degraded state of society they lived in, and had come forward to check and repress the manifold evils which were undermining the social fabric. For King Lakshmana's reign and that of his immediate predecessor, though marked by great literary activity,

* "वाचः पल्लवयतुमाप्तिधरः ।"

were, singular though it may seem, a period of social disintegration. Those who possess even a limited acquaintance with contemporaneous history, know how disorder and disorganisation had eaten into the vitals of society during this period of transition throughout the whole of Bengal. Buddhism was fast decaying. Though originally an off-shoot from one of the chief schools of Hindu Philosophy, it had gathered strength and stability by successive improvements during a period of a thousand years (477 B.C. to 500 A.D.). But gradually its cosmopolitan form and its high practical code of ethics had degenerated into sectarianism and superstition. Different Churches had sprung up within its pale. There were theological wranglings between the followers of Northern and Southern Canons, and the antagonism and animosity generated were not less bitter than those between opposite Hindu sects. Buddha had denied a personal deity ; but his followers had installed his relics* in their temples with the veneration with which the Hindus regard their gods. Thus the Laws of Karma, so much insisted upon by Sidhartha, had given place to the grossest forms of idolatry, and his high teachings of practical morality to superstitious rites and usages. Thus Buddhism in India perished, owing to internal weakness and corruption. It is an error to suppose that Buddhism was driven away from the place of its birth by Hinduism. The latter revived when the former could not satisfy men's minds, and their spiritual thirst and hankerings after a better religion. It revived, not, however, with its *Pouranic* myths, but with the Vedānta Philosophy, the sublimest of all human philosophies. Thus the internal weakness and the consequent fall of Buddhism had paved the way for Kumarila Bhatta and his illustrious disciple.

The history of India, and especially that of Bengal, during the first part of the eleventh century, therefore, commences with this narrative of social and religious strife. Much controversy has arisen amongst antiquarians about the settlement of the period of the Sen and Pal dynasties. So far it is certain that this period of disappearing faiths and dissolvent speculation, which

* M. C. Swamy (*Vide* Translations of Dattavansa Ch. V.) makes mention of a "tooth-relic of a colour like a part of a moon, white as the *Kunda* flower, and new sandal wood," for the possession of which battles were fought and won by powerful rival monarchs. After many reverses of fate, it was brought back to Ceylon. Ultimately, as the historian Rebiro tells us, it was destroyed by Constantine de Braganza, when he invaded Ceylon in 1560. But the Buddhists of Ceylon reject the story, as they believe that Buddha's tooth can never be destroyed. But the present one, which is now at the Candy temple, and which is displayed every year with great *eclat*, has been tested by European enquirers and found to be the tooth of a crocodile. See *Aitihāsik Rahasya* (Historical Disquisitions), by the late Babu Ram Das Sen, Vol. II., pp. 236 and 255.

saw the downfall and decadence of a once-triumphant religion and inaugurated the rebirth of another, which it had for some time thrown into the shade, was a momentous one and marked a crisis in the destinies of the country and its history. The Pal kings were Buddhists. The Sen kings were unquestionably Hindus. Men's minds were unsettled; the Sen kings had tried their utmost to bring in Hinduism and root out the evils which had crept into Hindu society through Buddhistic influences. But Buddhist Sramans in far-off mountain caves were even then composing religious works in the *Kutila* dialect, and sending off monks to preach their religion to the people. Thus Buddhism, in spite of persecution, had not completely lost its ascendancy over men's minds. Such was the state of society in Bengal when *Adisura*, the founder of the Sen dynasty, wanted to celebrate the *Putresti* ceremony and found, to his surprise, that there were no good Brahmins in the whole of Bengal versed in the *Shāstras*, and capable of performing it. Of the five Brahmins brought by him on this occasion from Kanouj, one was the distinguished ancestor of Halayudha.

This process of social reform went on till it culminated in the reigns of Ballal and Lakshmana. Ballal himself was a learned man and a great patron of learning. An authoritative work on *Smṛiti*, entitled *Dansagar*, is ascribed to him. He is said to have first inaugurated Kulinism in Bengal, and, during his reign and that of his eminent successor, social reform was carried to its highest point. Though the *Mel-bandhana* was still to be introduced by Debibara, the first initiative was taken by Ballala Sen. The rules and requisites of Kulinism as laid down by him, go to prove that he meant the order to be composed of an aristocracy of talents. Under the rules which every Kulin knows by heart,* no one but the pure, the learned, the virtuous, the charitable, &c., was entitled to a Kulin's rank. Thus we see that Kulinism, though it presents itself to us now in its most degraded form, was, at the time of its inception, a very politic institution. It was a stern necessity of the age; but the writer of the article "Bengal, its Castes and Curses," in the October number of the *Calcutta Review*, who draws largely, without acknowledgment, upon Pundit Lal Mohan Vidhyanidhi's excellent and original work in Bengali, entitled *Sambandha-Nirṇāya*, seems entirely to overlook this fact. He holds Ballala responsible for the present degraded state of Kulinism. But it is not through his fault, but that of Debibara, that this gross error found its way into the system. Debibara, while he linked

* "आचारो विनयो विद्या प्रतिष्ठातीर्थदर्शनं ।
निष्ठा वृत्तिस्तपो दानं नवधा कुललक्षणं ॥"

the respective *mels*, made no rules by which Kulinism of a lower order might be raised to higher *mels*. Hence, there was scarcity of bridegrooms amongst the higher *mels*, and the cursed practice of polygamy arose. With this cursory glimpse of Ballala's time, we now pass on to the period of his successor, with which we are more directly concerned.

Unfortunately for the historian, this period is involved in great obscurity. Minhajuddin, the only reliable chronicler, gives no account of the time of Lakshmana Sen. His valuable work, *Tabâkt-i-Nâsiri*, begins after the conquest of Bakhtiar Khiliji, and is believed by Dr. Rajendralala Mitra to have been written within fifty years of the conquest. Mr. Ravenshaw's interesting history of "Gour and its Ruins," with its many exquisite portraits and copper-plates, throws no light whatever on the period. The historian of this period has consequently to wade painfully through quagmires of foolish and fabulous legends ere he catches one glimpse of the hard and dry grounds of historic truth. He has partly to rely on the probable traditional legends, and chiefly on the incidental description in the works of contemporary Sanskrit writers, and on various inscriptions collected through the indefatigable exertions of so many able antiquarians. Unfortunately, as no two inscriptions agree in date, their credibility is doubtful. But they are comparatively valuable, as the most reliable of all the sources that are known to us. Hence the disputes between the wrangling *savants* regarding the interpretations of these inscriptions, instead of throwing any light on the subject, have made confusion worse confounded. Thus we see the era of Lakshmana Sen is a constant battleground of contending antiquarians. It has been differently fixed at periods varying from the eighth to the fourteenth centuries. Thus Dr. Rajendralala Mitra supposes 996 A.D. to be the most probable date of Lakshmana Sen's reign. Weber, in his letter to Bühler (September 1875), thinks Jayadeva to be a contemporary of Lakshmana Sen, whose era is fixed from an inscription at 1166. Lassen thinks 1160 A.D. to be the date of Jayadeva, and hence Lakshmana Sen, his contemporary, must have lived some years before or after. General Cunningham, speaking of Gour and its kings, says that "Gour was conquered by Deb Pala, the second of the Pal princes of Magadha, in 850 A.D."* He proceeds :—"There is no doubt, however, that the successors of the Sen Rajas lived in the province of Gour, and the building of the city of Gour is attributed to Ballal Sen and his successors, who all took the

* Archæological Survey Report, Vol. XV., p. 40.

title of Sankara Gour. or fortunate lords of Gour." * But this statement in no way solves the problem. The *Abhidhan-Ratnamalā* of Halayudha is mentioned by Aufrecht (in his valuable catalogue of Sanskrit works) as having been published during the end of the eleventh century. Lakshmana Sen, then, of whom Halayudha was the Minister, must have lived about this time. Babu Rajkrishna Mukherji, in his article in the *Banga Darsana*, written in the year 1874, stated that Lakshmana Sen's era was still current in Tirhut, and was 767 in that year of Christ. Thus, according to this calculation, Lakshmana Sen must have lived in the first part of the 12th century, (1107), and this date corresponds with that suggested by Lassen. We do not propose to enter into a discussion of this vexed question here, as it is beyond the scope of so short an essay. It is enough to add that we incline to the conclusion arrived at by Dr. Rajendralala Mitra, which seems to us cogent and well-grounded.

Halayudha came of an ancient Brahman family, famous alike for learning and for purity of lineage. His ancestor, as we have mentioned above, was the famous Bhatta Narayana, the renowned author of the *Benisanhara*, who was invited to Bengal by Adisura in about 986 A.D., though Halayudha himself says nothing on the subject. In his preface to the *Brahmana Sarvaswa*, which work we shall revert to hereafter, we learn that he belonged to the Vatsya Gotra. His father was Dhananjya, who had acquired great wealth and learning. He is described as a man of great purity, who strictly observed the injunctions of *Shastras* and its prescribed rituals. He offered sacrifices in such a way and celebrated so many *Homas* that his fame for piety transcended the bounds of this mundane world, and even reached the heavens, to be chanted there "by the *Apsara* damsels, their eyes filled with the pearly tear-drop of delight, and thus reached the ears of the mighty lords of the gods." His wife was Jānee, "goddess-like for her guileless mind and for her patient endurance." Halayudha came of these parents "even as *Mahat-tattwa*" (according to the Sankhya philosophy) "is evolved from *Prakṛiti* and *Parama-Purusha*." His elder brother was Pashupati, who was the author of several works of *Smṛiti*, the principal one amongst them, which Halayudha mentions, being the

* *Ibid*, p. 41.

General Cunningham has solved the problem in another way. He has assigned the latter part of the 14th century to Jayadeva, and hence to his contemporary, Lakshmana Sen. But this date seems to us erroneous, as he confounds the two Jayadevas, authors of *Prasanna-Raghava* and *Gita-Govinda* as one and the same person.

Pashupati-padhati. Halayudha describes himself as a court pundit of Lakshman Sen in his boyhood. In his early manhood he was raised to the Ministerial office, and subsequently "the king, whose fame rang through all these three worlds, Lakshmana Sen Deva, gave him the office of the Lord Chancellor, befitting his age." Then we have a high-flown panegyric bestowed on his patron. Halayudha describes him as a monarch of indomitable prowess, "by whom nothing was left unconquered on this earth, * * * and by whom no learning was unacquired in these seven worlds."* These extreme exaggerations were peculiar to the times, and they culminated in Lakshmana Sen's inscriptions, as readers of these very well know. We may say of the conquests so much boasted of by Halayudha, what Prinsep has so justly observed of the erection of pillars by Lukshmana Sen, as mentioned by the author of the Bakargunj plates, "it may reasonably be doubted whether these monuments of greatness ever existed elsewhere than in the poet's imagination." Nevertheless, Halayudha does not deserve to be exclusively blamed when we see that this was the fashion amongst all court-bards in all countries in ancient times, when literature could not have procured an independent livelihood, and when men of letters and men of genius had no other way to fame and emolument, to wealth and distinction, but by the favour of capricious patrons. It is thus not a matter of wonder when we see Kalidas extolling Vikramaditya, "the august lord of Ojein," to the skies, or Feristah and Abul Fazl trying to make us believe that Sultan Mahmud and Emperor Akbar were nothing short of veritable gods. "Horace", says Macaulay, "invoking Augustus in the most enthusiastic language of religious veneration, Statius flattering a tyrant and the minion of a tyrant for a morsel of bread, Ariosto versifying the whole genealogy of a niggardly patron, Tasso extolling the heroic virtues of the wretched crea-

* "येनासीदजितं न सिन्धुलहरौ धौताञ्जनायांचितौ ।

यस्यज्ञातमभून्नसप्तभूवने नानाविधं बाङ्ग्यं ॥"

These slokas are :—

भट्टनारायणो दक्षो वेदगर्भोऽथ कान्दड़ः । अथ
श्रीहर्षनामाच कान्यकुब्जात्समागताः ॥ साण्डिल्य गीतृसम्भूतो

भट्टनारायणः कविः ॥ etc. Quoted by the late Pundit I. C. Vidy-
sagar in his tractate on Polygamy, p. 16. Also vide *Sambandha Nirnaya*,
p. 18.

ture who locked him up in a mad house." We blame Halayudha, not for his unnecessary flattery of Lakshmana Sen, but for his absolute ignorance of historic precision. We expected from him a reliable account of his own ancestry and that of his patron ; and his account of them would have been more reliable than the haphazard statements of contemporary writers, or the inscriptions, and would have thrown much light on the history of his times. But he has left us entirely in the dark about these matters, and has hence compelled us to have recourse to other sources for the purpose of tracing his own genealogy.

To say the least, this part becomes the most difficult and even hazardous of our whole task. For, out of disjointed and even contradictory accounts—fabulous, and in some cases erroneous, statements of later writers—we are to construct a short history of the ancestors of Halayudha and the respective times in which they flourished.

We begin, then, with Bhatta Narayan, whom tradition points out as one of the five Brahmans invited to Bengal by Adisura. Dr. Rajendralala repeats the same story in his history of the Sen Rajas ; but it rests on very slender authority, as it seems to have come down from the traditionary slokas of the Kulacharjyas, whose statements the Doctor rejects some pages before. But even if we accept these slokas as authoritative, the problem is still far from being solved. We read from these that Bhatta Narayan was of the Sandilya Gotra, while he must have belonged to the Vatsya Gotra if he is to be recognised as the ancestor of Halayudha. But, as the veracity of these slokas must not be too much relied upon, it is not at all impossible that the Kulacharjya might have made a great mistake about the Gotras. Even if we assume that Bhatta Narayan was really of the Vatsya Gotra, still there is left a perplexing puzzle about his genealogy. Unfortunately we have no account of it in his *Veni Sanhāra*. But we have come across a work on Smṛiti, entitled *Arāmotsarga-Padhati*, in which he mentions himself as the son of one Bhatta Rameswara. Dr. Rajendralala, in his account of the Sen and Pal dynasties,* incidentally speaks of Halayudha and his relation with Dhananjya and Pashupati. It seems that he has overlooked other facts, or he would have drawn a complete genealogy from Bhatta Narayan downwards to Halayudha,—an opportunity offered him when he mentions a work on Smṛiti named *Gotra-Pravara Darsana*, whose author Kamalakar Bhatta styles himself the grandson of Bhatta Narayan, the son of Bhatta Rameswar and the younger brother of Bhatta Dinakar.† And to make assurance doubly

* P. 361, Indo-Aryans, Vol. II.

† "Notices of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the library of the Maharajah of Bikaner," p. 311.

sure, Bhatta Narayana is mentioned as the son of Bhatta Rameswara, * so we may reasonably conclude that these two Bhatta Narayanas are not different men. This statement of ours is further corroborated by the fact, that Pundit Juganmohan Tarkálankará, in the preface to his nice edition of the *Veni Sanhára* (published in Samvat 1927 or 1870 A.D.), calls Bhatta Narayana, the son of Bhatta Rameswara, and states also that Bhatta Narayan lived towards the close of the 9th century of the Vikrama era. But the Pundit cites no authority for this statement. We may, however, take the statements of the authors themselves as conclusive. A few pages further on in the book cited above, Dr. Rajendralala mentions of another work on Smriti, entitled *Pravara-Ratna*. Its author calls himself the grandson of Rameswara, the son of Ramkrishna, and the younger brother of Bhatta Dinakar. We thus find a correct and consistent genealogy from Bhatta Rameswara to Bhatta Dinakar downwards :—

Bhatta Rameswara—

(Work and time unknown)

|

Bhatta Narayana—

(Brought by Adisura to Bengal, circa 986

A. D. Author of—

Veni Sanhára, *Aramotsarga-Padhati*
and *Divyánusthana-Padhati*, etc.)

|

Bhatta Ramkrishna —

(Work—*Sivalinga-Pratistha*.)

|

B. Dinakar
(work—*Santisar*)

B. Kamalakar
(works—1. *Gotra Pravardarsana*
2. *Karma-Vipaka-Ratnam*)

B. Lakshmana
(work
Pravara-Ratnam.)

At this point there is an abrupt break in the genealogy. Henceforward the task of tracing the genealogy becomes difficult, if not absolutely hopeless. We will, however, try to trace it from sources other than the works of these authors themselves. Pundit Lalmohun Vidyanidhi, in his *Sambandha Nirnaya*, asserts that Kulinism was conferred on one Maheswara, ancestor of Halayudha, and he was tenth in descent from Bhatta Narayan. This latter statement of the Pandit (*viz.*, that he

* The concluding words of *Gotra-Pravara-Darsan* are :—

“इति श्रीरामेश्वरसूरिसूनूनानारायणभट्टात्मजराम-
कुशाभट्टसुतदिनकरभट्टानुजकमलाकरभट्टेन ।” etc.

was tenth in descent) seems to us to be erroneous. For there is an intervening period of about 120 years (from circa 986 to 1106 A.D.), and, considering the ordinary period of a man's life, it is highly improbable that ten generations of men should have passed within so short a space of time, giving for each generation only twelve years. For this reason alone, if not for any other, Vidyanidhi's statement may be called in question. One important point, however, is gleaned from his statement, *viz.*, that Maheswar was Halayudha's ancestor, and that Ballala thought fit to make him a Kulin.

As we have no work of Dhananjya's to contradict the above statement, and as we have seen that Maheswar was contemporary with Ballala, we may fairly say that Maheswar must have been either the father or the grandfather of Dhananjya, probably the former. He must not be confounded, however, with Maheswara, the author of *Viswa-Prakash*, who lived in the Court of Sahasanka, and whose date, according to his own version, Professor Wilson thinks to be 1111 A.D. This Maheswar was of Vaidya caste, and he has given us an account of his own ancestry in the introduction to his *Viswa-Prakash*. But it may very reasonably be asked—why Halayudha is so studiously silent on the points noticed above. To this it may be said that our Sanskrit writers are not always given to appending complete genealogies of their ancestors to their works. The history of Ancient India would otherwise have been clearer, and enquirers would not have to grope so helplessly in the dark. These authors, as we see in most cases, rest satisfied with extolling the merit of a virtuous father or grandfather, and do not think it worth their while to proceed further. Moreover, it is not likely that Halayudha, who does not mention his illustrious ancestor, Bhatta Narayan, would stoop to relate the account of a lesser luminary. Starting with the theory that Maheswara was the father of Dhananjya (as he was contemporary of Ballala, who granted Kulinism to him), we next come to Dhananjya himself. Nothing precise can be said of this man or of his immediate predecessor. Dhananjya is extolled to the skies by Halayudha for his great piety and learning; but this appears to be merely the customary eulogy bestowed by Sanskrit writers on a deceased parent. Dhananjya, surnamed Dhanikapar, is the author of *Dasha-rupa-nibandha*. He was a courtier of Munja Bhoja Raja, the date of whose reign has proved a puzzle to so many. But according to Colebrooke the Raja seems to have flourished during the first half of the 11th century (1042 A.D.*). The

* *Vide* his "Miscellaneous Essays," Vol. II. Dr. Rajendralala discusses at full length the subject of this monarch in his paper on "Bhoja Raja of Dhar and his homonyms" in Vol II of his *Indo-Aryans*.

date of Dhananjya at least corresponds with that of the father of Halayudha. But we have no strong ground to vouch with certainty for the identity of these two persons.

We should now say something about the chronology of Halayudha and his ancestors. Pundit Muktaram Vidya-bagish's statement to the effect, that Halayudha was 16th in descent from Bhatta Narayan, has been justly criticised by Dr. Rajendralala as inadmissible. Neither can we accept the statement of Pundit Lalmohan Vidyanidhi, who makes Maheswar tenth and Halayudha twelfth in descent from Bhatta Narayan. This theory, as we have shown before, is incompatible with the brevity of the intervening period. Considering all sides of the question, then, we have thought fit to make Halayudha seventh in descent from Bhatta Narayan, as by this, all discrepancy about dates is done away with. For, taking twenty years on the average to represent each generation, we have the intervening 120 years from Bhatta Narayan to Halayudha (beginning with the reign of Adisura and ending in that of Lakshmana) exactly filled up by these six generations. It is not unreasonable to suppose that Bhatta Narayan came to Bengal at the age of 25 or 30, *i.e.*, after he had made himself famous by his work in Kanouj, and, considering the precocity of Indian genius, we are disposed to take the former date. His other works on *Smriti*, *viz.*, *Aramotsargapadhati*, were written after he came to Bengal, which was in greater need of such works at that time than Kanouj, where he formerly lived. This makes the approximate date of his birth to be 961 A.D., assigning 20 years on the average to each generation. This would make the approximate birth date of Halayudha 1061 A.D. Thus:—

I. Bhatta Rameswar	...	941 A. D.
II. Bhatta Narayan	...	961. Approximate birth date. In- vited to Bengal after 986 A.D.
III. Bhatta Ramkrishna	...	981 A.D.
IV. Bhatta Kamalakar	...	1001 A.D.
V. Bhatta Maheswar	...	1021 A.D.
VI. Dhananjya	...	1041 A.D.
VII. Halayudha	...	1061 A.D.

In the above table three things are to be noticed:—First, that these dates are approximate birth dates. They may have lived longer, but the date of their deaths cannot be ascertained. Secondly, that Halayudha lived long, is apparent from his own statement that the tenure of his office in Lakshmana Sen's service was long, and that he was successively raised to several important offices in the State during Lakshmana Sen's reign. Thirdly, that we made Maheswar son of Kamalakar, because the two brothers of the latter had children, and we have no mention of Maheswar among them—while Kamalakar seems to have had none. To this it may be said that Maheswar might have

been the grandson of Bhatta Dinakar and Lakshmana, but the brief intervening period would hardly support this view. From this and other internal evidences, we are inclined to take Maheswar as the son of Kamalakar.

From the subject of Halayudha's genealogy, we naturally come now to that of his works. They are not many, at least those that are extant, though, from the manner in which Halayudha speaks of them, we are led to believe that he wrote other works which have perished. Be that as it may, we are concerned only with his existing works. These are three, the *Kavi-rahasya*, *Abhidhānratnamāla* and *Brahmana-sarvaswa*. The first work, *Kavi-rahasya*, is a small treatise consisting of 274 short mnemonic verses. The author describes it at the outset as a treatise "on the inflexion of verbal roots of the same form, but of different classes, illustrated by quotations from various authoritative works of celebrated writers and eminent poets." It is a small compendium, treating of roots of the same form in different classes in the present tense, third person singular. In this, as in his *Brahmana-sarvaswa*, we mark the same affected, grandiloquent style when speaking of himself. He proceeds:—"I who have crossed with great success the ocean of roots, have collected these examples for those who want to go over to its other shore."

Self-praise could go no further. Our readers must not blame Halayudha too much. Dr. Rajendralala, speaking of the extravagant inscriptions of Umapatidhar, remarks, perhaps with some exaggeration, that this fashion was a sign of the times. Magh and the author of *Nagananda*, who certainly do not belong to this characteristic period, have this bombastic style. *Kavi-rahasya* is not for the use of beginners. It is a help to those who have finished grammar and have commenced the study of poetry and rhetoric. Though it is not an original work, yet we cannot help admiring the author's wide grasp of the subject and his extensive knowledge of the verbal roots of Sanskrit grammar, wherein even Mahamahopadhyas are often found to stumble. Another great charm of Halayudha is his wonderful power of welding together incongruous elements; of clothing the most terse and hard rules of grammar, in the language of true poetry. Abstruse metaphysical speculations, in themselves, are scarcely, from their very nature, proper themes for poetry. This is probably the reason why Young's "Night Thoughts" are regarded by some as "gloomy affectations", while others regard Pope's "Essay on Man" as "dry and uninteresting" and merely a "philosophy in rhymes." Indeed, who could, with any show of reason, expect to find Newton's "Principia," or Hamilton's "Metaphysics," or Murray's "New English Dictionary" rendered into good English poetry. And

even in such a musical language as Sanskrit, where, from its natural melody, the most rugged verses seldom grate on the ear, and where the driest aphorisms of Vedantic philosophy are clothed in jingling rhymes (as in the Panchadasi), very few poets have succeeded in this difficult branch. But to the credit of Halayudha it must be said that he, after Amar Singha, is the only man amongst many whose work is a successful poetical interpretation of Sanskrit grammar. Hem Chandra, Maheswara, Medinikar and others are good lexicographers in their way, but there is hardly a bit of melodious rhyme, let alone poetry, in their whole works. But what could be better poetical examples to illustrate the roots, गुप्, धूप and छद्, than the following :—

(1)—गोपायति चित्तिमिमां चतुरध्विमीमां पापाजुगुप्सत
उदारमतिः सदैव ।

वित्तं तु गोपायति यन्नबनीयकेभ्यो धोरो न गुपति
महतापि कार्यजाते ॥

(2)—धूनोति चम्पकवनानि धुनोतप्रशोकं चतुं धूनाति धुवति
स्फुटितातिमुक्तं ।

वायुर्विधुनयति केसरपुष्परेणुन् यत्कानने धवति
चन्दनमञ्जरीञ्च ॥

(3)—निशितशरसहस्रैः छादयन्तरीचं
छदति समरभूमिं विदिषां रुण्डमुण्डैः ।

छदयतिसुरलोकं यो गुणैश्च यच्चयुद्रे
सुरयुवतिविमुक्ता छादयन्ते स्रजश्च ॥

The reader may at once see that each sloka or verse forms a perfect picture in itself, and is decidedly superior, both in sense and sound, to the jarring doggerel of Bhakikar, which serves the purpose neither of a good grammar nor of a tolerable epic.

From this we now pass on to his next work, *Abhidhanratnamala*. This book is extremely rare, and unfortunately we have not had access to it. We subjoin here the estimate made by some oriental scholars of this work. Speaking before of Lakshmana

Sen's date, we quoted Aufrecht's remarks on it. Colebrooke speaks of it, in his introduction to *Amar Kosha*, as "a vocabulary in five chapters ; the last of which relates to words having many acceptations. It is too concise for general use, but is sometimes quoted." Mallinath, above others, in his commentary quotes from this work. But it is not generally cited.

His last work *Brahmana-sarvaswa* is his greatest extant work. It is a work on Smriti, much on the same plan as the work of our Bengalee legislator, Raghunandan. Indeed, the plan of Halayudha and that of his brothers, Pashupati and Eshan, seems to have been adopted by Raghunandan. Moreover, *Brahmana-Sarvaswa* seems to have been the ground work of Raghunandan's *Suddhi-tattwa*, *Astavinsati-tattwa*, &c. The scope of *Brahmana-Sarvaswa* is very wide and ambitious, and, as its title implies, it is a *vade mecum* to the Brahmans. It embraces, in short, the descriptions of every rite and ceremony that occurs in the life of a twice-born caste. Complicated as is the life of a Hindu by the observance of innumerable ceremonies, his legislators in their turn have laid down their rules without the omission of even the most trifling detail. Halayudha in this respect has trodden the old ground. From the petty detail of cleansing one's teeth, he proceeds to the observances of the marital and funeral rites, which are certainly more serious and ought not to have been mixed up together. He makes frequent and large quotations from the works of Menu, Yajnavalkya, Parasara and a host of other lawgivers, to illustrate and emphasise his meaning.* The earnest and serious

* For the satisfaction of the scholars we quote the following from the introduction of *Brahman-sarvaswa*. They may at once see the wide scope of the work.—

इह प्रथममुद्दिष्टग्रन्थारम्भप्रयोजनं । वेदसमाधायनं कार्य-
मतः परमुदाहृतम् ॥ वेदार्थविज्ञानफलं तदनन्तरमीरितं ।
ऋष्यादीनां तथा ज्ञानं दन्तधावनकर्मच ॥ प्रातःस्नानं तथा
प्रातःसन्ध्या च समुदाहृता । माहात्म्यप्रपञ्चञ्च प्राणायामस्य
दर्शितम् ॥ प्राणायामस्य गायत्र्याऽपि व्याख्याततः परम् ॥
* * * * * श्राद्धञ्च पार्वणादिश्च मन्त्रव्याख्या
निवेदिता । भोजनस्योदिता मन्त्राः सायंसन्ध्या च कीर्तिता ॥
उक्ता मन्त्राश्च शयननर्भाधानविधेरपि । व्याख्याता नाम-
करणमन्त्राश्च तदनन्तरम् ॥ etc.

tone in which Halayudha proceeds to enjoin and defend the most obviously important ceremonies of a Hindu's life, may now appear to savour somewhat of the comical ; but it must be remembered that he had to defend his religion against the attacks of Buddhist monks, and to reinstate Hinduism in its pristine glory. Whether these explanations put forth by Halayudha would appear plausible in the eyes of an enlightened Hindu of the 19th century is indeed questionable. But that they proved eminently satisfactory to our forefathers, is evident from the fact that they went a great way towards re-establishing and consolidating Hinduism in Bengal.

Another interesting feature of the book remains to be noticed. It is a fashion amongst Sanskrit writers, and a good fashion too, to affix in the commencement of their work, a hymn of praise, or rather an invocation of the author's favorite deity, *i.e.*, his *Ista-Devata*. In most cases it is Ganesha, in others Krishna, or in others again, Siva. But in very few, except in Vedic Hymns and the works of Astronomy, the sun, or Gayitri, is invoked. But Halayudha invokes the Sun ; Brahma, "the divine author of the four Vedas ;" the goddess Gayitri, "whom the three-eyed lord of the Universe (Siva) adores thrice a day." It shows how the most elementary, though the most important duty of a Brahman, *viz.*, the observance of *Sandhyā* and Gayitri, had to be impressed on the minds of the young Bengali of the twice-born caste.

But the most important and wholesome feature of Halayudha's work is the spirit of rationalistic tolerance that pervades it throughout. He defends his religion against Buddhism, but nowhere, if we remember aright, does he attack or ever use harsh epithets towards it. He explains, emphasises, defends, but never carps or cavils at his antagonists. The perusal of the work at once convinces the reader that the author is firm in his religious views or beliefs, but tolerant of those of others. He may have erred, but is ever impartial. We may say of this, as a great critic had observed of Hallam's great work, that "the whole spirit of the book is of the bench and not of the bar." He, with the reformers of his time, thought, and we think rightly, that the attempt to induce people to follow Menu's strict injunctions to the letter would be futile. He therefore quotes later authorities and tries to reconcile them with Menu. This tendency in him and his contemporary reformers crowned their efforts for the revival of Hinduism with success, and led to its rapid reinstatement in Bengal. It is an interesting study to see and compare how this tolerant spirit becomes gradually confined and straitened within the shallow nutshell of a blind and rigid adherence to meaningless customs in the works of later

day reformers. While Raghunandan, plundering and pillaging from the works of others whom he has thrown into the shade, was smiling with self-complacency and hoping to secure the reputation of a second Menu, Hindu society was undergoing a marked change. Its old vitality was gone, and order was replaced by bigotry and superstition. The spirit of Raghunandana's works, to follow the letter rather than the spirit of the Shastric injunctions, had entered into its very backbone and had greatly undermined its strength. It had rendered, as it renders even now, the remedy almost, if not entirely, useless. From the impolitic innovations of Devivara the cursed system of polygamy arose. There was another evil which hastened the downfall of Hindu society. The strifes and feuds between the different Hindu sects and creeds, *e.g.*, the *Saktas* and the *Vaisnavas*, destroyed what little remained of the vitality and the solidarity of the old religion. The mystic, and, in most cases, the coarsely sensual, *tantric* rites now found favour with the ignorant and superstitious. These bacchanalian orgies were celebrated, as they were in Greece and Rome, under the ill-concealed disguise of pure worship. These inhuman forms of worship, whatever might have been their original object or significance, served as convenient cloaks to villains for the free indulgence of their lust. This system gradually came to be regarded with abomination by the thoughtful and spiritually-inclined portion of society. This state of things could not last long. Every one felt that reform was sorely needed, and reform was close at hand. It was left for Chaitanya to touch the magic-spring of the nation's heart by *Bhakti*, to break asunder the bonds of caste that but a short time since had seemed indissoluble, and unite the different contending sects and creeds into one harmonious whole. He instilled spirituality, enthusiasm, and religious fervour into the minds of his followers, and inculcated the grand maxims, that faith purifies all, and that salvation is not the monopoly of any particular caste or creed. Not even a polluted *mlechcha* was excluded from his religion of universal love and brotherhood of man. This noble and ideal religion thrilled the minds of his hearers and gained for its great founder, within a short space, earnest and enthusiastic followers everywhere. In process of time, however, corruptions crept into this beautiful religion, and *Chaitanyaism* fell. A more detailed account of it is beyond the scope of the present essay.

But it is not for his great learning, nor for his illustrious pedigree, nor even for his valuable works, that Halayudha has a claim on our memory. His vast knowledge of Sanskrit grammar and his poetical talents are now forgotten and over-

looked. His learning was undeniably great, but his own ancestors, as well as his contemporaries, were equally learned. His other works still live ; and, owing to their intrinsic merit, will continue to live for a long time to come. His *Brahmana-Sarvaswa*, though considered to be a great and original work of authority on *Smṛiti* in its own time and for one or two centuries later, is scarcely consulted in Bengal after the works of Raghunandana. But it is as a great social reformer that Halayudha's name will be handed down to posterity with lasting veneration. He was one of the few great Hindus whose life-long endeavour was to disseminate great moral truths in times of corruption—who, like Addison, "without inflicting a wound, effected a great social reform," and elevated and uplifted the society in which he lived, and placed it on a sound moral basis. These qualities Halayudha possessed, and it is because he possessed them, that his position in Sanskrit literature is so very unique. He vindicates Brahmanism against corrupt Buddhism, and tries to restore the lost glory of the former, not by cant, not by dogmatism, but by clear, wise, rational and judicious explanations of its sociology and theology. Many of these explanations, as we have hinted above, may now appear to some as extremely simple and obvious, and in some cases not quite satisfactory. But the spirit of *Brahmana-Sarvaswa* can hardly be mistaken. We sadly feel the want of reformers like Halayudha in the present day. The orthodox section of our community would unreasonably stick to the letter of the *Śāstras*, while our reformers would alienate the sympathy of our educated community by the advocacy of rash, unwise, and unnecessary innovations, and thereby seriously injure the cause of reform. Nobody in the present day would, like Halayudha and his co-workers, follow a wise, moderate and conciliatory course, and adapt his reforms to the spirit of the times, which was the secret of the success of Ballála's order of Kulinism. This order, as established by him and improved by his son and successor, like the fabled order of the Knights of the Round Table, would have been a grand success, had it only lived. This we ought to remember, as most of us are apt to blame Ballála for the subsequent deterioration of Kulinism. Its later history and the degraded form it took through the so-called improvements of Devi-vara, will form a separate chapter by itself. We propose to revert to this interesting study of the downfall of Kulinism in Bengal in a later issue.

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ART. IX.—THE MUHAMMADAN COINAGE OF INDIA
BEFORE THE TIME OF BABAR.

NOW that the Coin Catalogues of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, and the Lahore Museum, are finished, we have, with the two volumes of British Museum Catalogues of Indian Coins, "Sultans of Delhi" and "Muhammadan States," together with "Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi" by Edward Thomas, and five supplements to the same by C. J. Rodgers in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, a pretty full literature on the coins in use in India, between the time when the first Muhammadan Sultan made Delhi his capital, and the time when the first Mogul Emperor Babar won the Indian Empire for himself in the battle of Panipat.

In the collection made by Marsden there were rather more than 200 coins belonging to this period. Edward Thomas, a member of the service of the Honourable East India Company, was for some years Collector at Delhi, before the Mutiny. He obtained materials for his book from the Delhi bazaars. In that book he gives an account of all the different coins known to him, that had been issued by the Sultans of Delhi and of the kingdoms which had become independent of Delhi. He was a most learned and painstaking author. But, although he wrote extensively on oriental numismatics, when, some years ago, he was made C. I. E. or C. S. I., some Indian newspapers of good standing in the country wanted to know who Edward Thomas was, and what he had done to merit any distinction. Had the editor of that paper made enquiries in the Delhi bazaars from old men, he would have ascertained that Thomas Sahib *was* a man.

"Thomas soe, dunyā roe,
Thomas jāge, dunyā bhāge."

"If Thomas sleep, the world will weep,
If Thomas wake, the world will quake."

This proverb shows what the people of the Imperial City thought of Thomas as a ruler. Some of the old money changers remembered him as an indefatigable coin-collector. Students of Indian numismatics regard Thomas as having done for Muhammadan Indian coins what General Cunningham had done for Græco Bactrian and Indo-Scythian coins. Both were great numismatists, and their works on coins are still "authorities." Both were first gleaners in their respective fields. General Cunningham obtained and described Græco Bactrian coins so rare, that no duplicates have yet been obtained of them. Edward Thomas obtained and described Muhammadan coins so

rare that no duplicates have as yet been found of *them*. Neither numismatist has been dead ten years yet, and still many coins have been found, of which they had not one. Five supplements to Thomas' book have been published, each illustrated with two plates of coins : and a sixth is in preparation, though it was stated that the fifth would be the last. This shows how constant research increases our historical knowledge.

As Mr. Thomas' book was the first important contribution to our knowledge of the Muhammadan coins of India between 1193 and 1525 A.D., we may as well state what it contains. It is a book of 467 pages, and is illustrated by six plates and numerous cuts of coins in the text.

In order to understand the subject, we must go back a little. The Panjab was first invaded by Muhammadan troops under Subaktagin, the father of Mahmud of Ghaznih. Mahmud continued those invasions. He died in 1030 A.D. There were after him fifteen Sultans who all reigned in Ghaznih, except the last two, who fled the place and took refuge in Lahore. They cover a space of a hundred and fifty years. Most of them kept on invading the Panjab, but they were always resolutely opposed by native rajahs or combinations of rajahs, and they seldom could be said to rule the Panjab. Lahore, however, was the capital of Khusrau Shah and Khusrau Malik, the last two rulers of Ghaznih origin. It was against Khusrau Malik that Muizz-ud-Din Muhammad bin Sam, or Muhammad Ghauri, directed his arms, and his surrender took place in 1187, at Lahore. But after the Ghaznevide had been conquered, the Ghauri found that he had to meet the Indian, and the Indian defeated him ignominiously on the field of Tarauri near Bhatinda, and the Ghauri returned home in disgrace. Soon afterwards, however, he returned, and on the same battlefield which had witnessed his defeat, he routed the Indian army under Prithvi Raj, and after that the whole of Northern India lay at his feet. This was in 1193 A.D.

It seems to have been an acknowledged principle that a conqueror should never make any great and sudden changes in the currencies of a conquered country. Hence Muhammad bin Sam, when he had conquered Northern India, issued coins somewhat similar to those which had been in use previous to his time. These, we know, were of two kinds—those issued by Indian, and those issued by Ghaznevide, rulers. The Indian coins were of two varieties, one in gold, one in billon, a mixture of silver and copper. The gold coins had an image on one side and a Hindi legend on the other. The billon coins were pieces of about 55 grains in weight. They had a bull on one side and a horseman on the other, and on one side was the name of the ruler in Hindi, and on the other the name of

some supposed or actual suzerain. The Ghaznevide issues were many and various. They had gold coins, covered all over on both sides with Arabic inscriptions : silver coins were similarly treated. Their copper and billon issues were latterly a compromise with Indian usages. One side was occupied by the title and name of the Sultan, the other by a bull, over which was the name "*Samanta Deva*," an old ruler of Kabul.

Muhammad bin Sam's issues were many and various. He struck gold and silver coins, as the Ghaznevites had done. He struck copper and billon, as they had struck them. He also used the bull and horseman, and put his name in Hindi over the bull. Over the horseman he used the term "*Hamira*," which is supposed to have reference to the Amir-ul-Mominin, *i.e.*, the Khalifa of the Muhammadans. His coins are abundant even now. The Lahore Museum collection exhibits fourteen varieties of his copper or billon coins. Muhammad bin Sam had a general named Yalduz who struck coins of two varieties and of several types. On the first variety he used his master's name and his own, on the second he used only his own name. The Lahore Museum collection has four types of each variety. These billon coins must have been struck in immense quantities, for we notice that altogether the coins of Muhammad bin Sam and Yalduz in the Lahore collection number exactly one hundred.

The gold coins of Muhammad bin Sam were broad thin pieces, as were his silver pieces. On some of these the name of his elder brother, Ghiyas-ud-Din, comes, with the title "the Greatest Sultan," while the younger brother was called only the "Great Sultan." Some of these coins had the inscriptions in concentric circles ; some were in square areas and had margins. These were intended for circulation in the home provinces and were struck in Ghaznih. The chief feature of the Indian issues we have noticed,—the compromise made with Indian usages, the use of Hindi letters and of the horse and bull. This shows us that the early Musalman rulers of India were not quite such bigots as some would have us believe. We must remember that the great Mahmud himself initiated this. There are silver coins of his extant, on one side of which the inscription is in Arabic, and on the other in Sanskrit. It is, however, a strange statement in Sanskrit : "The Invisible is One ; the Incarnation is Muhammad, the King Mahmud." (See Lahore Museum Cat., Part II, p. 28. Silver coins of Mahmud Nos. 38 and 39).

After Muhammad bin Sam, Qutb-ud-Din Aibak ascended the throne, We are told by the historians that he coined ; but no coins of his are to be found in any collection, except the Lahore one. They are of the usual billon type. In a rayed

circle is the word "Qutbi" on one side. On the other is a bull and some fragmentary Hindi letters.

Aram Shah, who reigned next for a short time, seems to have no coins which can be assigned to him, although Mr. Thomas thinks one coin may.

Shams-ud-Din Altamsh comes next. He reigned for 25 years, from 1210 to 1235 A.D. Two coins of his are known in gold, one of which is in America. Both have the figure of the king on horseback on one side. Round the horseman is a marginal inscription giving the date. These are invaluable pieces. Rupees are known of this king. He was the first to strike them. They weighed between 160 and 170 grains (the modern rupee is 180 grains, of which 15 grains are alloy); the rupees of Altamsh were of pure silver. There are not many known now. The British Museum has three only. There are none in the Indian Museum. But the Asiatic Society has eight. The Lahore Museum is particularly rich in the billon coins of this king—the number given being 114 of many types. We notice that some of these coins weigh as little as $9\frac{1}{2}$, $12\frac{1}{2}$, $17\frac{3}{4}$, and 20 grains, so that the copper coinage provided for payment for most minute purchases. This was necessary, for in olden times cowries could scarcely have been in use at all, in a province so far from the seaboard as the Panjab is. We notice that Altamsh had mints at Delhi, Lahore, Multan, and, perhaps, Agra. Of the first three names there is no doubt whatever. Altamsh kept up the custom of striking bull and horseman coins, with Hindi inscriptions. These were intelligible to the Hindus. For his Musalman subjects there were coins in Kufic letters of great variety. None of the gold or silver coins have any Hindi on them. There is one small silver coin of Altamsh known. It is in the Indian Museum. It was obtained by the Archæological Surveyor of the Panjab Circle in one of his tours.

Of Rukn-ud-Din Firoz Shah, who reigned for a short time after Altamsh, few coins are known. Two are given in the Lahore Catalogue, one in Hindi and one in Arabic, but both with horseman reverse.

Razia Begam, the daughter of Altamsh, was a superb woman. Her only fault, says the historian, was that she was a woman. She reigned from 1236 to 1239 A.D. Being a woman, she fell in love, and the object of her affections was not pleasing to the nobles, who rebelled against her and took her lover prisoner. She herself was imprisoned, but the keeper of the prison fell in love with her and espoused her and her cause; the nobles did not like him either, and both the Empress and her second lover were taken in battle near Kaithal and slain—a sad end for the only native Empress of India to come to. Her coins

are not numerous. There are some rupees of hers in the Asiatic Society's collection, and six types of billon coins of hers in the Lahore one. There have been rumours afloat that gold coins of hers have been met with. We have never seen one and never heard of one being edited. If she imitated the coinage of her father, and she most probably did, there are many types of her coinage yet to be discovered. Numismatists will kindly make a note of this, for, although we know more now than we did twenty years ago of her coinage, still other types must be in existence.

Muizz-ud-Din Bahram Shah reigned from 1239 to 1241, and Ala-ud-Din Masaud Shah from 1241 to 1246 A.D. Rupees are known of both these Sultans, and the usual Arabic and Hindi types of billon coins. We want gold coins of both these men. The four kings, Altamsh, Firoz Shah, Bahram Shah and Masaud Shah had the reverse of their rupees occupied by the name of the Khalifa, or sacerdotal head of the Muhammadan faith. They regarded him as a kind of Pope and pretended to hold their kingdoms by his permission. Of course, he had in reality nothing to do with India, but the presence of his name was a great thing for the Muhammadan subjects of the Sultan. In reality the Khalifa was perfectly powerless and a puppet in the hands of the ruler of Bagdad, but such was the power of his name that, after he was dead, it was used.

The next king Nasir-ud-Din Mahmud reigned from 1246 to 1265 A.D.—nineteen years. He was more of a monkish scribe than a king. He spent his time in writing Qurans, which he sold for a living. His Sultana cooked his food for him. One wonders how such a king kept his throne so long. He must have been as ready with his sword as with his pen, for the country was not at rest.

All the catalogues, following the example of Mr. Thomas, give the coins of contemporaries of all the above kings. Some of these contemporaries reigned in India, and were, indeed, rajas. Others were interlopers, successful for a time, during which they struck coins. Such were Nasir-ud-Din Qubacha and Saif-ud-Din Hasan Qarlugh and Nasir-ud-Din Muhammad Qarlugh. Others were invaders of India, or of countries bordering on India. Such were Ala-ud-Din of Khwarizm and his son Jalal-ud-Din, who were conquered in their turn by Changez Khan. The coins of these five persons are very numerous, but Ala-ud-Din was a prince amongst moneyers. The Lahore catalogue contains 72 types of his coins, and the Indian Museum catalogue even more. His coins go side by side with those of Muhammad bin Sam'; but, as he never ruled in India, his name never comes on coins in Hindi. His son's coins are in both Arabic and Hindi. The coins of both these men are found

in considerable numbers in the Panjab even now. West of the Indus, in the cities of Afghanistan, they are plentiful.

Of Changez Khan, that great and merciless scourge of Central Asia, only a few coins have come to India. He was too busy to attend to a coinage of his own.

Ghiyas-ud-Din Balban succeeded Mahmud Shah. His coins are in gold, silver, billon and copper. They are well known, and, although the gold is the rarest, still it is not uncommon. The gold coins of his predecessor, on the contrary, are extremely rare. Balban was a great man, and one with whom we can sympathize. In his old age he lost his eldest son, and that hastened his own death.

After him came troublous times. Muizz-ud-Din Kaiqubad reigned three years and Jalal-ud-Din Firoz Shah five. The coins of these were similar to Balban's. It was during the reign of Firoz Shah that the south of India was first invaded by the armies of Delhi. The result of that conquest was a great influx of gold into Northern India, and a consequent increase in the number of gold coins struck. Jalal-ud-Din did not strike many, but when he had been murdered by Ala-ud-Din Muhammad Shah, this latter king struck gold coins abundantly. He reigned for twenty years, from 1295 to 1315 A.D. As Deogir was on the way to the Dekkan, he had rupees struck there as well as in Delhi. He seems to have made only one small innovation in his coinage. On one type his titles appeared on one side in Arabic and on the other, in a circle, his name. Round this his titles come again in Hindi, *and the date also in Hindi figures*. No other Sultan before or after him used Hindi *figures* for the date, which was the Hijri year. After his somewhat long reign, Shihab-ud-Din Umr occupied the throne for a few months. He was succeeded by a man who was a disgrace to humanity, but who called himself, when he ascended the throne, Qutb-ud-Din Mubarak Shah, and assumed the title of the Khalifa of the God of Heaven and Earth, the Great Imam, the Strong by the help of God, the Leader of the Faithful. Because he used the title Khalifa, he called Delhi "Dar ul Khilafat," that is the Vicarage, or Seat of the Vicar. He called part of Delhi *Qutbabad*. Considering that he reigned four years only, from 1316-1320 A.D., his coins are numerous. He began the use of square coins in gold, silver and copper and billon. He also had the same round. It is most difficult to obtain a complete collection of all the types of his coins. During his reign a man named Shams-ud-Din Mahmud Shah struck coins in Delhi, of which only one has come down to us. This was in 1318 A.D., during the absence of Mubarak Shah from his capital. As, during the close of his tour, he ordered a cousin

to be executed, and as the same reward was meted out to the man left in charge of the capital when the Sultan reached it; we shall not err, if we suppose one or both of these men had something to do with it.

Another vile wretch succeeded him—one who called himself Nasir-ud-Din Khusrau Shah—, who reigned only for about six months. Several mohurs of him are known, but only one rupee. The Lahore Museum has three types of his billon coins.

Ghiyas-ud-Din Tughlaq was the next king, and he was a man of power. He carried his arms as far as Telingana in the Dekkan and conquered as far as Madura. His coins in gold are numerous, and so are his rupees even now, and his billon coins are of several types. He was treacherously killed by the fall of a hall of reception, made by his son Muhammad, who succeeded him.

In pursuing the career of the Sultans of Delhi, we have omitted to notice what had been happening in Bengal. In the early Muhammadan conquests of India, Bengal fell a prey to the victorious armies of the very first Sultans. Governors were appointed for the distant dependency, but these governors were, as often as not, independent sovereigns. Several of the Sultans of Delhi, however, struck coins in Bengal—good broad rupees. They were always in Arabic. Some of these governors also struck coins in their own name. On several occasions they had to be called to order, and armies were sent from Delhi to enforce the claims of the Delhi suzerain. In all there were twenty-five governors of Bengal between 1202 and 1340. It is surprising that only rupees have been found of these men. No gold and no copper or billon coins have as yet come to light. Bengal, being on the sea coast, and having communications with the sea, may have used cowries for small change.

Ghiyas-ud-Din Tughlaq not only conquered Southern India, but went to Bengal and reduced that province to order. There are rupees extant on which his name comes on one side, while the other bears the name of his Bengali vassal. The whole of Northern India from the Bay of Bengal to the Panjab, and the whole of Dekkan, were too much for one man to rule properly, unless he were a very strong man indeed. Tughlaq might have done it, but he reigned only five years. His son Muhammad was learned, pious, brave, full of ambitions and new ideas, and in his actions was practically mad. He sent an army of 100,000 horse on an attempt to conquer China, into the Himalayas, where every one perished. He took a fancy to Deogir and called it Daulatabad. Then he ordered all the inhabitants of Delhi to betake themselves to this pet city of his. He made them do it. Delhi was left silent as the

grave. Daulatabad did not suit him, and he ordered the people back to Delhi. Never was a king quite so mad as Muhammad, the son of Tughlaq. He showed it in his coins. At first he ordered mohurs to be struck, 200 grains in weight, *i.e.*, just a quarter as heavy again as previous mohurs had been. Some of these mohurs were struck in the name of his *murdered*, whom he by some freak of madness called his *martyred*, father. He heard that in China they had a paper currency. In his own country he determined to try the effect of a copper currency which should bear the name and value of gold. He did not continue this experiment long. He found that his people gave him his forced copper currency back at its legalized value. Consequently his treasury became full of copper stamped as gold.

It is in the matter of inscriptions that the coins of Muhammad, the son of Tughlaq show variety. He was a man who believed in the divine right of kings, so he put on his coins, "Truly he who obeys the Sultan obeys God." He was pious, hence he called himself, "the Slave hopeful of the mercy of God." He styled himself "the shadow of God;" "The strong by the help of God;" "The just Sultan;" "The one who used exertion in the way of God," and so on. Towards the close of his reign, he thought he might as well get the assistance of the name of a Khalifa on his coins. There were no Khalifas in either Damascus or Baghdad, but there were some poor weak creatures in Egypt. One of these sent an embassy to India, and with the embassy a sanad confirming Muhammad as Sultan of India. The ambassador was treated with the greatest honour and sent back with much wealth and many valuable presents. Then Muhammad struck coins in honour of the Khalifa. He omitted his own name from the coinage altogether, and put only the name of the Khalifa on the coins. If we had not dates and names of mints, we should be inclined to think they were coins of the Khalifas of Egypt. However, what with varied inscriptions, and names of Khalifas, and his own name, and that of his murdered father on coins, the number of types obtainable now, reckoning the gold, silver, billon and copper coins of all kinds, is somewhat near sixty. The Lahore catalogue has 46 and has none of his gold coins. The mints were not numerous: they include several Bengal towns, Delhi, Daulatabad, Tirhut, which he called Tughlaqabad, and Dhar, or the Pass of Dhar. This last is the modern town of Dhar in Malwa, and is rightly called the Pass of Dhar, for the road from Agra and Delhi to Daulatabad and the Dekkan passes through the Vindhya mountains here.

The mad actions of this Sultan did not go far in making his subjects pleased with him. No wonder that distant provinces

began to fail in their allegiance to him. The extreme south set the example. A small Muhammadan dynasty became independent in Madura. Then followed the great kingdom of Gulburga. Then Bengal wavered, and of course had a quarrel over things, and then declared for independence, with the result of having several sovereigns at the same time. Other parts of India were ripe for revolt, or were actually engaged in active rebellion, when Muhammad, who had been called to Sind to quell a rebellion there, died of a too great feed of fish. His successor, his nephew Firoz Shah, had to march from Sind to Delhi before he obtained the empire. A boy was placed on the throne in Delhi while the journey was being performed, but he disappeared as soon as Firoz put in an appearance at the capital; not, however, before coins had been struck in his name in gold and silver, on which the boy is described as the son of Muhammad, the son of Tughlaq.

Firoz Shah was a kindly man. He was fond of hunting, fond of fighting, fond of good buildings, and did not like to see an old building in ruins. During his long reign of 37 years, many were the mosques and tombs and schools which he repaired; the bridges which he built and the canals which he dug are many of them in use at the present day, after five hundred years of use. He could not bear to see a good site unoccupied by a town or a palace. He built towns and forts and palaces and had hunting boxes all over the country, and, if we may believe tradition, his love affairs were not few.

He tried to keep Bengal in order but failed. He accepted the inevitable with respect to the Dekkan. He attempted no conquests. The dry rot which had set in, in the reign of his uncle, went on. The Empire was beginning to crumble to pieces. His coins are found at the present day in gold in fair quantities, in silver not at all, but in billon and copper in profusion. There are eleven types in billon in the Lahore collection. But before his death he allowed the names of three of his sons to appear on coins in conjunction with his own,—Fath Khan, Zafar and Muhammad. These coins are in several metals and of various types. New coins, in fact, of Firoz Shah seem to be always "turning up."

Tughlaq Shah II succeeded Firoz. He managed to reign a few months and gave place to Abu Bakr Shah. Of the former the Lahore Museum has nine types and of the latter eleven; so the mints must have been very busy, for Abu Bakr gave place to Muhammad Shah after about a year. The new king reigned for about three years, and then a Sikandar mounted the throne, which must have been unusually slippery in those days, for he was off it in 45 days. This second Muhammad is credited with fourteen types of coins in the Lahore collection,

and Sikandar with five. The new king who succeeded Sikandar ; was Mahmud Shah. It was during his reign that Taimur paid his visit to India. The inhabitants of India were fewer in number when that visit was at an end than they had been previous to it. He had strange ways and strange ideas about the sixth commandment. Mahmud was not happy, for he was not secure. Nasrat Shah as often occupied Dehli as Mahmud did, and he used the mint when he was in that city. Hence coins of both kings are numerous. There is in the British Museum in London, one small copper coin bearing the name of Taimur and the mint name—Dehli. That is the sole metallic record of the conquest of India by the great Ameer. There is one coin bearing the joint names of Mahmud and Nasrat.

Confusion ruled in Dehli. Daulat Khan and a Khizr Khan seem at times also to have ruled. They left no record of that fact in metal. But coins went on being struck during the confusion. The die-sinkers put any body's name on the coins that they thought fit. Firoz Shah's comes oftenest, long after he was dead. So the confusion in the coins, confirms the reports of the historians as to the confusion in the country. Mubarak Shah, Muhammad bin Farid Shah and Alam Shah ruled, one after another, altogether for 30 years. The last of these gave up the kingdom in 1451 A.D., and retired to his gardens and pleasure grounds at Badaon. These three men had all gone on coining, but gold seems to have disappeared from the circulation, and silver had become so scarce, that no rupees are known of some of these men.

The Panjab seems to have produced strong men frequently, and always in the nick of time. Bahlol Lodi took up the sceptre Alam Shah had laid down, and he used it to some purpose during the 37 years he ruled over India. He could not, however, hinder the disintegration of the Empire. Jaunpur he did reconquer ; but Bengal, the whole of the Dekkan, Malwa and Gujarat were gone altogether from Delhi. With Delhi for his capital, he ruled what was called Hindostan, *i.e.*, the country round about Delhi and Agra and the Panjab, *i.e.*, what we now call the North-West Provinces and the Panjab. And here he coined. His sole mint for many years was Delhi. After his conquest of Jaunpur, he struck a few coins there first, to show that he was lord and master. He struck in billon and copper only. No coin of his in either gold or silver has been yet found. His types are few. But he kept his mints constantly at work, as is evidenced by the numerous dates on two series of his coins. The Lahore collection exhibits 24 years on one series.

Sikandar Lodi followed his father, and he reigned 29 years. He was a somewhat severe king. He did not like the Hindus. He was always ready to use the materials of a temple, if a mosque or tomb were deemed necessary. His reign was somewhat monotonous and his coins are exceedingly so, as only three types are known. But, if monotonous, they are most numerous. Maunds of them might be obtained even now from the old coin stores in the bazaars of Northern India. His coins were either in billon or copper. If a king wants to rule a country like India, he should try and conciliate the different factions and cultivate a spirit of loyalty. Sikandar did not do this, and so, when his 29 years were accomplished and he was laid in the Great Lodi sepulchre outside Delhi, his son, Ibrahim Lodi, did not find the throne of India very secure or very pleasant. Dissatisfied nobles and dissatisfied subjects abounded. Outside India, from his retreat at Kabul, the Turk, the Lion Babar, was watching events, as a lion from his lair might watch a herd being driven to the pond near the jungle. He saw that his presence in India would be hailed with delight. He had felt his way in the Panjab. When he felt strong enough, he swept down on India, and, on the field of Panipat, scattered the vast army of Ibrahim, and then advanced on Delhi and Agra and became the first Mogul Emperor of India. Ibrahim Lodi lost his life at Panipat in 1526 A.D. During the nine years of his reign, metal fit for coining purposes must have been scarce, for few of his coins are known, except some little ragged pieces of copper, which generally bear but a few letters of his and of his father's name.

We must pause here again for a little while to think for a few moments on the word billon. We have used it for a mixture of silver and copper. In a coin of 140 grains sometimes there were as many as 15 or 16 grains of silver. Such a coin would be worth the tenth of a rupee. Others, again, had only 3 or 4 grains of silver. These coins were called black tankahs, because the silver in them got black when the coin got old. Twenty of them went to the rupee. But in a bargain it must always have been a struggle between the seller and buyer as to the kind of tankahs to be bargained with. Natives are very sharp about these tankahs even now. They are sought for with avidity on account of the silver they contain. Cheapness of silver does not seem to have lessened the keenness of their desire for them. Sometimes if a little borax is handy, they warm these black coins, rub the borax over them and give them a very silvery look. Then they sell them to the unwary collector who knoweth not all the wiles or all the knowledge of the coin sellers.

It will be seen that, when Babar came to India, no coins in

gold or silver had been struck in Dehli for nearly a hundred years.

But it had been otherwise in the provinces that had revolted—Gujarat, Malwa, Jaunpur, Gulburga, and Bengal. * Gold had been struck in all these, except Bengal, which coined only silver. The amount of copper coins of Gujarat, Malwa, Jaunpur, and Gulburga, still obtainable in the bazaars of Northern India, is astonishing. Their gold and silver coins are not so abundant; indeed, of Jaunpur, only one silver coin is known at all. Of the earliest Gulburga kings it is difficult to get any coins. The reason of this is given by the historian. The early kings quarrelled with the sarrafs and forbade the use of old Hindu coins, because they had images on them. The sarrafs gave in and obeyed for a time. But they broke out soon and then collected the coins of the Musalman kings and melted them down. Far away, beyond Gulburga, the little Muhammadan state which lay near Madura coined in silver, billon and copper for about forty years, and these coins are in fair abundance now to be had in the bazaars of that part. Some of the copper coins are very small, after the fashion of the coins of Travancore.

We have said nothing at all about Kashmir and the part that secluded valley played in making money. For centuries it had been governed by its own Maharajas, and in all probability all of these coined money, on which their names were impressed. Some few gold coins have been found of these gentlemen, and some coins in white metal. But of copper coins of the old Maharajas of Kashmir, maunds might be obtained even now, although the last Maharaja was deposed five hundred and eighty years ago. He was succeeded by his Muhammadan prime minister, who was the founder of a line of kings which lasted till the time of Akbar. These Kashmiri Sultans struck in gold, silver and copper. The gold mohurs are the rarest coins the collector can get. In all seven coins of seven different kings are known. Their silver coins were square and worth about ten annas intrinsically. Their copper coins, which even now abound, were badly struck, just as the coins of the valley are now-a-days. These Kashmiri coins must have been used in the parts of the Panjab near Kashmir.

The small principality of Kangra had a currency of its own before the time of the Moguls. The coins are small bits of copper, but the name of the Raja is on them. Sometimes they have the horse and bull on them. Sometimes only the horseman.* Some few have both sides covered with inscrip-

* Three or four Bengali mohurs are known. They were struck by independent rulers.

tions in Hill Hindi. Still rarer are the coins which bear the name of Ibrahim Lodi on one side and on the other that of the Kangra Raja.

Starting with Muhammad bin Sam and closing with Ibrahim Lodi, we have dealt with the coins of thirty-four Sultans of Delhi. We have touched on the coins of native rulers, and of interlopers and conquerors. And we have glanced at the issues of independent kingdoms. We can imagine, therefore, now what the accumulated wealth of Indians of the time of Babar must have been. We have seen who struck gold and who silver. The coins of all the kings we have mentioned, or to whom we have alluded, would be found. It seems never to have been the custom to recall, or call in, an issue of coins. In India it was never the custom to counterstrike coins, as in Turkistan. Of course the most common coins were copper. Then come the billion coins, or black tankahs, in which all transactions requiring much money were carried out. We see, on some large tombs at Hisar, that they were erected at a cost of so many thousands of black tankahs. Rupees and gold coins seem never to be mentioned as factors in trade. Judging from the condition of the gold and silver coins which we now obtain, they must have been in good keeping for several centuries. They are scarcely ever rubbed even. They are certainly in better condition than their imitations, made to-day in Bombay. We are led to infer, therefore, that the gold and silver coins were not currencies, but only used for stored-up wealth. The treasury of the king would have them, and the traders and bankers would obtain them and stow them away in safety. No wonder, therefore, that buried wealth nearly always consists of either gold or silver coins. We arrive at this conclusion, that the black tankah and copper coins, which went down as low as small coins of less than ten grains, were the currency of India from Muhammad bin Sam's time to that of Babar.

We see that some change was needed. Babar and Humayun were too busy to initiate any reform. But Sher Shah was bold enough and strong enough to do it. When he had hustled Humayun out of India, he at once commenced his reform of the currency. He struck his celebrated dams—copper coins of 320 grains each, 40 of which went to the rupee; he struck also halves, quarters, eighths and sixteenth parts of dams. He revived the rupee and the gold mohur. The rupee was between 170 and 180 grains in weight, the gold mohur about 168. But only the dams were the currency. Lands were assessed in them and rents were paid in them, and the revenues of towns, cities and provinces were reckoned in them. Mints were opened for their

manufacture all over the country. Formerly, as we have seen, nearly all the money had been coined in Delhi. But Sher Shah's reforms are outside the province of this paper. We have been led to notice them, because they were the result of the condition of the coinage of India before the time of Babar.

"The gorgeous East" might "shower on her kings barbaric pearls and gold;" the common people saw but little gold and handled less. The old coin stores show us plainly that, when Babar conquered India, there were current in the bazaars the copper or billon coins of over fifty kings. How bargains were made and large sums paid, we cannot tell. In all probability they weighed the coins after sorting them. Their coins never had a fictitious value: everything was valued intrinsically. Silver, we know, was dear in comparison with gold. A mohur was worth only ten rupees in those days; now it is worth twenty-eight; but mohurs and rupees were scarcely ever seen by the masses. We read that in Mogul times the emperors had bags of dams in the palace for distribution to the poor, and so many thousands were distributed daily. It was not till the reign of Jahangir that small silver coins were made to be thrown amongst the people on great days. So we come to this conclusion that India was a country which, for three hundred years and more, had a copper currency. Silver and gold coins were made, but they were not used extensively in commercial transactions as at the present day. The silver and gold were pure, and, had the coins been used for three hundred years, they must have lost all traces of inscription; but, as we have seen, the contrary is the case; old gold and silver coins are nearly always in a beautiful state of preservation. Billon and copper coins have frequently the inscriptions deleted.

To the coin collectors, the coins of the Sultans of Delhi offer a field replete with novelties and abounding in varieties. It has been fairly exploited, but we must not think that we have attained to perfect knowledge of the subject. New things are being found every year, and will continue to be found. The work of discovery is not, however, a pleasant one. Remote bazaars must be visited, and it is not pleasant to sit in the open bazaar and examine bags full of old dirty copper coins, with a gaping, jabbering crowd pressing round you. Sanitation is often absent. Very dirty and highly odorous clothes are to the fore. So a coin hunt is not a physical treat. But if a man is interested in the changes which have taken place in the characters whereby the people of India expressed themselves for three centuries; if he can *read* easily; if he knows the history of India fairly well, and if he has some spare cash and time and does not mind a few inconveniences, then a hunt through a few thousand old coins is a treat, and if that hunt is in a North

Indian bazaar, it will result in the coins of many kings being secured, in several metals, of different weights, sizes and values, and most probably in the discovery of some novelties unknown before and not to be found in Thomas, or in any catalogue, and the joy of the discoverer is one not at all to be despised.

There is no *one* good and complete collection of the coins we have tried to describe in India. The Lahore Museum has the largest number of varieties, and it possesses a mohur of Nasrat Shah, of which there is only another specimen known, but it is not in any Indian Museum. It possesses more dated coins than any other museum, but it is not rich in the more expensive coins. The Indian Museum is rich in gold and silver coins, but is not so good in the number of varieties of billon and copper coins. Of course this museum should have as complete a collection as it is possible to make. But, as we have seen, rare coins, like rare fossils, must be hunted after. They will not come of themselves to the beautiful building in Chowringhee. We have a Geological Survey, but there is no one whose work it is to look after the numismatics of the country.

The British Museum collections of these coins are very fine. But even they are not good in the billon and copper series. The authorities of that institution have decided to spend less on oriental coins. The late Keeper of the Coins, Reginald Stuart Poole, was a great oriental scholar and had a weakness for oriental coins. But it has been ascertained that, in London, where one man asks to see the Oriental Collections, fifty ask to see the coins of Greece and Rome and Britain. So more attention is to be paid to the coins of these three empires. Now, therefore, is the chance for the Indian Museum in Calcutta. Collectors will not find a market in Russell Street: they should be encouraged to send their wares to Chowringhee. But how Coin Collections are to be made without a Coin Curator, we cannot imagine. There are coin collections and coin collections. In the collection we wish to see in the Indian Museum, there should be at least one specimen of every coin known to have been struck in this vast empire. We do not want every coin that may be presented to the museum. We do not want a vast array of duplicates. To do all this, requires knowledge and a vast amount of labour and research. In the British Museum Coin Room there is a staff of learned men with an extensive numismatic library. These men examine every coin sent to the museum. If it is not in the museum collection, they try and secure it. If it be already in the museum, they decline it. Part of their work is to give information about coins and to answer the queries of visitors. Such an official is wanted in India, where old coins are constantly being found about which

the natives know nothing. We know that interest in the old coins of India is growing. The series we have described has had much attention paid to it, and, from what we have said, it will be seen that it is worthy of it.

ART. X.—ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON.

THERE are some names which seem to leave a special sense of sweetness in the mouth which has named them, and of later names there is no one of whom this is more true than of Robert Louis Stevenson. We, who did not know him, seem to know more of him than of most men whom we do know. We can picture his life 'remote from public haunts.' We see him touring through France, or in Silverado, or where not, in search of health, and everywhere with the same kindly humour, ever taking 'with a frolic welcome' the cloud or sunshine. So that it is with a sense of personal loss almost that we think of him as laid to his last rest among the hills of Samoa which he loved so well.

In some sense the time has scarcely come for passing a final judgment upon his writings. This very feeling, as if he were here and telling the story himself, makes it difficult to criticise at once. In another sense, the time for passing judgment has already gone by. We live so quickly now that, with last year's show, last year's dead are almost forgotten. Mr. Andrew Lang, who has been able more than most people to 'catch the humour of the flying day,' has already written two or three opinions regarding Mr. Stevenson, and he had the advantage of knowing him personally. Yet he admits that two opinions must be formed about great writers—one that of contemporaries—the other that of posterity. If we endeavour to give voice, however humbly, to a contemporary opinion about this great writer, it is rather lest his name should be unnoticed in Indian criticism, than from any hope of doing justice to him.

It is perhaps true, as Mr. Lang says, that Stevenson was wanting in depth. He did not enter into the deeper workings of men's minds as greater novelists have done. But this is only to say that he belonged to the school of Scott, rather than to that of Thackeray and George Elliot. And it must be remembered that the lightness which is so conspicuous in Stevenson's writings is not very compatible with too much depth. For he was one of those souls of whom Shelley speaks, addressing the Spirit of Nature :—

'The souls of whom thou lovest
Walk upon the winds with lightness.'

So that he is, perhaps, better where he touches only the surface of things—better with Miss Grant than with Catriona, better with Jim Pinkerton than with the Master of Ballantrae.

And to ourselves it has seemed sometimes unfortunate that he wrote so many novels about Scotland. We could not wish

them unwritten, but a comparison is suggested, and, though the work is great, there has been greater than this.

And there is much of his work, like 'Prince Otto,' 'The New Arabian Nights,' 'The Strange Story of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde' and 'In the Wrong Box,' which is rather fantastic than charming. A man must write, 'since flesh must live,' but surely the writer of 'Treasure Island' need not have written such. We prefer to be carried away to southern seas, where, amid

'bowery loneliness'
'Some refulgent sunset of India
Beams o'er a rich ambrosial ocean isle
And crimson-hued the stately palm woods
Whisper in odorous heights of even.'

There is no book except Robinson Crusoe which can be set beside 'Treasure Island.' The working of the plot; the terrible refrain, 'fifteen men on a dead man's chest, Yo! ho! ho and a bottle of rum;' the fighting and the final denouement, are too well known to need comment. This is one of the few books which can make the heart of the oldest, as well as of the youngest, beat faster.

Next to this, we must own, 'The Wrecker' pleases us most. We are taken to so many varied scenes, so many forms of life—Paris, San Francisco, lonely islands, Persia even, all places, known and unknown. At one time an artist, at another a director of picnics, at another a raiser of wrecks, the story-teller is taken through many fortunes, and observes, like Warren Hastings, the same equanimity in all of them. It is characteristic of the man that he finally settled down to be a trader in the South Sea Islands, which may be supposed to be the laziest life in the world.

It has been objected to Stevenson as a novelist that he is deficient in the portraiture of female character. In one of his poems he has described the mutual feelings of a boy and girl:—

'And he to her a hero is,
And she is sweet as primroses.'

That is what his own heroines are—'sweet as primroses'—'so sweet, so faint, so fair.' Therefore we cannot take them to our hearts as we can the more perfect creations of stronger hands—such as Hetty in 'Adam Bede,' or 'Maggie Tulliver,' or 'Ethel Newcome' or 'Laura Pendennis' or 'Little Nell.' They are to us rather like dainty unknown damsels seen at a garden party, or the courtly ladies who smile at us for ever from the canvas of Watteau. But these, also, have a place in our lives, and a charm which is all their own.

That which is most admirable in Stevenson's writings is his treatment of villains. When Charles Dickens set out to paint a villain, he painted the antithesis of Tommy Atkins—'a bad

'un, heart and hand.' We must confess to a sort of kindly feeling for Daniel Quilp, who was, perhaps, the most complete scoundrel of all, but his qualities as a salamander and as a humourist must have made him a vastly pleasant companion, though the novelist, perhaps, did not intend that he should be otherwise than hated. And Bill Sykes was no doubt very courageous, but his courage is kept in the background, and only his worse qualities are exhibited; and this is the case with Uriah Heap, Squeers and many other of Dickens' villains. Stevenson's plan was a more natural one. Villains are not always villainous, nor virtuous people always virtuous. Perhaps, if they were, the world could not go on. As Shakespear says, 'one may smile and smile and be a villain.' We can recall only one unredeemed villain among Stevenson's characters, the uncle in 'Kidnapped.' Otherwise they are the best of company, such as the 'Master of Ballantrae,' or Catriona's father. And there are people who might call Allan Breck a villain, but we shall not. Only we must admit that his conscience was not excessively tender.

When we get away to the Southern Seas, we reach a different sphere. Here, if one is not a pirate or a buccaneer, one would be inclined to call for an explanation from him. But what good, cheery fellows they are all the time!

The charm of Stevenson's style is not to be imparted by quotations. It lies chiefly in the unexpected turn which he gives to commonplace sentences, filling them with some strange melody. Yet shall we quote one passage, which, indeed, we learned, not with any thought of quoting it, but because it seemed to illustrate the effect which Indian life has upon so many of us:—

"The dull man is made not by the nature, but by the degree of his immersion in a single business. And all the more if that be sedentary, uneventful and ingloriously safe. More than half of him will then remain unexercised and undeveloped. The rest will be distended and deformed by over nutrition, over cerebation and the heat of rooms."

Browning has put the same thought into verse:—

"Because a man has shop to mind,
In time and place, since flesh must live,
Needs spirit lack all life behind,
All stray thoughts, fancies fugitive,
All loves except what trade can give?
But—shop each day and all day long!
Friend, your good angel slept, your star
Suffered eclipse, fate did you wrong?
From where these sort of treasures are
Thence should our hearts be—Christ, how far!"

One of the best ways of escaping from the heated rooms

where our 'shop' has its being, is to travel over breezy downs and breezier oceans with those who, like Robert Louis Stevenson, have lived in and loved the open air. We have said that his life was 'remote from public haunts,' and it enabled him to find and to show to us 'Tongues in trees, books in the running brooks, sermons in stones and good in everything'—even in villains.

H. F. T. MAGUIRE.

THE QUARTER.

EVENTS in Chitral have been the most absorbing topic of public interest in India since the date of our last retrospect. It was known at that time that Umra Khan had invaded the State, and occupied the fort at Darosh and Dr. Robertson had left Mastuj for Chitral, to strengthen Lieutenant Gurdon, who had been there, with an escort of only ten men when the late Mehtar was murdered by Amir-ul-Mulk, and had since remained there under instructions from Dr. Robertson.

Dr. Robertson reached Chitral in safety on the 1st February ; but towards the latter end of that month things assumed a threatening aspect between Mastuj and Chitral ; and, early in March, Lieutenants Edwardes and Fowler, with a small party of Sappers from Mastuj, and forty Kashmir rifles from Buni, were pushed on towards the latter place. On the 7th March news reached Mastuj that they had been stopped at Reshun, where they expected to be attacked ; and Captain Ross and Lieutenant Jones started from Mastuj with a hundred Sikhs to their assistance : both these parties were attacked and cut off by the enemy. Lieutenant Edwardes and Jones were surrounded at Reshun, and, after a gallant resistance, were treacherously seized, along with several of their men, by order of Mahomed Isa, at whose invitation they had gone, during a truce, to witness a game of polo. Captain Ross and Lieutenant Jones, after leaving forty of their men at Buni, on the 8th March, advanced with the remaining sixty towards Reshun, and had gone some distance when they found themselves entangled in a net-work of sungars and stone-shoots. After losing heavily, they were compelled to retreat to the shelter of a cave ; and finally, in an attempt to cut their way back to Buni, Captain Ross was shot through the head and killed, and Lieutenant Jones severely wounded ; while all but seventeen of the men, who, with Lieutenant Jones, succeeded in reaching Buni, were either killed or so severely wounded that they had to be abandoned. At Buni the survivors were relieved by a force under Lieutenant Moberley from Mastuj, to which place they all retired, and where they were besieged for eighteen days.

In the meantime, all communications from Dr. Robertson having ceased from the 1st March, and no hope being entertained of its being possible to relieve or reinforce him from

Gilgit till June, owing to the passes being closed, the Government of India determined to despatch an expedition from India, under General Low, to relieve him, and to expel Umra Khan from Chitral, should he still persist in defying its order to withdraw. In an explanation of the position given by the Viceroy in the Council on the 28th March, the former purpose was put forward as the prime object of the expedition. "For the present," he said, "we have before us a single issue, the claim of brave men, British and Indian, who have not flinched in the performance of their duty, to the support of their countrymen in their hour of need." In a Notification, formally sanctioning the despatch of the expedition, published in the *Gazette of India* of the 30th March, however, matters were somewhat differently represented. "Umra Khan, the Chief of Jundoul," ran this document, "in spite of his oft-repeated assurances of friendship to the British Government, and regardless of frequent warnings to refrain from interfering with the affairs of Chitral, which is a protected State under the suzerainty of Kashmir, has forcibly entered the Chitral Valley and attacked the Chitral people. He has failed to explain his attitude, when asked to do so, or to withdraw when required, and as he has disregarded all remonstrances, the Chitral Relief Force will be despatched against him. The first object of the expedition is to relieve Chitral territory from the invasion by Umra Khan, and assure it against such aggression in the future. The force will advance into Swat, and thence proceed, as strategic and political considerations may show to be best, to the territory of Umra Khan, so as to coerce him into putting an end to the pressure placed by him upon the town and country of Chitral. If this object cannot be effected without passing through Bajour and Dir, and attacking Umra Khan in Chitral territory, that course will be adopted, and should Umra Khan not make submission and reparation, he will be punished. If further measures for the relief or the reinforcement of the British officers now in Chitral are necessary, the force will advance to Chitral to effect that object. Every possible means will be taken to make known to the people of the countries on the Peshawar border, that the reasons and objects of the expedition are as above set forth, and that the only cause of quarrel is with Umra Khan and with those who have been supporting him in committing an aggression upon Chitral, and defying the lawful authority of the Government of India. As little interference as possible will be permitted in the country through which the troops have to pass in order to reach the objective of the force, and the neighbouring tracts will be untouched, unless the people offer opposition, or show active hostility. The length of time

during which the force will remain across the border, must depend on its having thoroughly assured the object of the expedition. The force will consist of 1st division of all arms detailed for mobilisation, without the wheeled artillery, except one field battery, one British and one native regiment of cavalry, and one or two other minor modifications."

Umra Khan, it should be added, had been joined, about the 24th February, by Sher Afzul, a brother of the former Mehtar, Aman ul Mulk, who, emerging from his asylum in Badakshan, in November 1892, had made a descent on Chitral, killed his nephew, Afzul ul Mulk, and seized the reins of Government, but who, shortly afterwards, had fled the country, on the advance of the late Mehtar, Nizam ul Mulk, and taken refuge in Kabul. It was believed that the invasion of Chitral by Umra Khan, if not the murder of Nizam ul Mulk, was the result of a plot between this man, who now appeared as a claimant to the *gaddi*, and Umra Khan.

It should be further stated that, on the 8th January, when there might have been a question of Lieutenant Gurdon withdrawing from his dangerous position in Chitral, Dr. Robertson had written to him from Goupis: "If there is any prospect of trouble, sit tight and send off urgent messages to Mastuj and Ghizr, and do not commit yourself and your escort to that terrible road along the left bank of the river between Mastuj and Chitral;" and that, immediately afterwards, he sent him a reinforcement of fifty men from Mastuj, who reached him safely. Somewhat later, but on what date we do not know, though probably about the 19th January, Dr. Robertson, who was then at Mastuj, awaiting the instructions of the Government of India, was ordered by them to (in the words of the Viceroy) "go to Chitral to endeavour to bring about a peaceful solution of the succession," and "to report to the Government of India what claimant would be most acceptable to the people."

We have been thus particular about the incidents which led up to the expedition, because a right understanding of them is essential to the formation of a judgment regarding the policy of the Government. Any attempt to follow, in detail, the events of the expedition itself, would, however, carry us far beyond the limits of space at our disposal.

The expedition, which exclusive of the reserve Brigade, consisted, all told, of about 14,000 men of all arms, advanced from its base at Mardan on the 1st April. The Malakand Pass was forced on the 3rd April. On the 18th April, the 2nd and 3rd Brigades reached Miankalai, where the enemy fled precipitately at the first attack. Umra Khan's fort at Mundia was found deserted, Umra Khan having absconded on the previous night; and a portion of the 3rd Brigade, consisting of the Buffs,

the Ghurkas, 4 Guns, 2 Maxims, and some Sappers, under General Gatacre, was pushed on to Dir, by the Janbatai and Lowari Passes, the remainder of the Brigade following the next day, and the march being expected to occupy ten days.

On the 20th April, General Low received alarming news from Chitral, to the effect that the garrison were hard pressed, and that a mine had reached to within ten yards of the fort tower. Orders were accordingly given to General Gatacre, who had crossed the Janbatai Pass on the 19th, to push on with all possible speed to their relief. On the 21st, however, news was received, and subsequently confirmed, that the siege had been raised, and that Sher Afzul had absconded and the enemy dispersed.

What had happened was that Colonel Kelly, who had advanced from Gilgit, with a force of some six hundred men, on the 23rd March, had, after defeating several bodies of the enemy, relieving Mastuj, and crossing the Shandur Pass though heavy snow, reached Khagozai, one march from Chitral, on the 19th April ; and, during the preceding night, the enemy, being apprised of his near approach, had abandoned the siege, deserted all their sungars and fled.

During the siege, which had lasted forty-six days, and for a full account of which the reader must be referred to Captain Townshend's despatch, published in the daily papers, the garrison had lost 104 killed and wounded, out of a total of 370, Captain Baird being among the killed, and Surgeon-Major Robertson and Captain Campbell among the wounded.

Eventually Colonel Kelly entered Chitral on the 20th April, and General Gatacre, no longer under any necessity to hurry, on the 12th May.

The belief of the Government of India as to the impossibility of Chitral being relieved from the Gilgit direction was thus, owing to the wonderful march of Colonel Kelly and his force, signally falsified by the event, though it is highly probable that, but for the effect of General Low's expedition in occupying the enemy, Colonel Kelly's brilliant feat would have been impossible, and, in any case, it was one on which the Government could not have reckoned.

Sher Afzul surrendered to the Khan of Dir, by whom he was made over to the British authorities, and is to be interned at Dharmasala. Umra Khan, after his flight from Miankalai, took refuge in Kabul, where an asylum appears to have been granted him by the Amir. Mahomed Isa has not yet been taken. Amir ul Mulk has been deported to India.

General Low arrived at Chitral and inspected the troops there, consisting of the 3rd Brigade and Colonel Kelly's force, on the 16th May. Pending the decision of the Home Govern-

ment regarding the future of Chitral, it will be garrisoned by a wing of the 4th Ghurkas, with Lieutenant Gurdon as acting Political Agent, a wing of the Buffs garrisoning the country between Chitral and the Lowari Pass, and the route between the Lowari Pass and Mardan also being held in force.

Colonel Kelly returns to his command at Gilgit, and General Low and Dr. Robertson go to Simla.

The terms which General Low, before the action at Miankalai was authorised by the Government of India to offer Umra Khan, and which were decided on at a Council of War, held at Simla, on the morning of the 15th April, in telegraphic communication with General Low, then at Sado, have been severely criticised, and not without some appearance of justice, as being less generous than he had deserved by his honourable treatment of his prisoners. After Lieutenants Edwardes and Fowler had been treacherously seized by Mahomed Isa at Reshun, as already related, they, together with eleven men, captured at the same time, were sent to Umra Khan at Chitral. From Chitral, they accompanied Umra Khan to Darosh, and on the 13th April—six of the men having already been released, and one having escaped—, Lieutenant Edwardes was sent in to our camp at Sado, with a letter from Umra Khan to General Low, asking what he had done to incur the displeasure of the Government, and what conditions would be granted him. To this, it has been stated, General Low replied, asking Umra Khan why he had not complied with the Government ultimatum, calling on him to give up Lieutenant Fowler and the other prisoners safe and sound, and informing him that we intended to march through his country, and that, if he did not oppose us, he would not be interfered with. Whether this reply was actually communicated to Umra Khan, or whether it was merely the reply which General Low proposed to communicate to him if the Government of India approved of it, is apparently doubtful. What is certain is that, at the Council already mentioned, the Government of India disapproved of the terms, and decided to insist on the unconditional surrender of Umra Khan, coupled with an offer of an asylum in India. On the 16th April, or the day after this decision was arrived at, Lieutenant Fowler also arrived in our camp at Sado, with the remaining prisoners. The actual date of their release has not, as far as we can discover, been publicly stated, so that it is doubtful whether, on the one hand, the Government, when they settled the terms, knew that it had taken place or not, and, on the other, whether the very different terms proposed by General Low were instrumental in procuring it.

Lieutenants Edwardes and Fowler, it should be added, speak in the highest terms of the way in which they were treated

during their thirty days' detention as prisoners, and also testify to Umra Khan having disavowed, and expressed regret for, the treachery that had been practised on them.

While the policy advocated by Lord Roberts and the "forward" party, of garrisoning Chitral and constructing a military road thither through the Kohistan, is severely criticised by a section of Indian experts, and while there is a feeling in many quarters that the complications which necessitated the expedition might have been avoided by the exercise of a wiser discretion, not the least noteworthy feature in connexion with the operations is, the extraordinary enthusiasm they have aroused among the general public at home. As far as concerns the conduct of the troops, which, with the possible exception of the men of the 4th Kashmir Rifles at Chitral, who are admitted to have been to some extent demoralised by the severe losses they sustained in the disastrous sally of the 3rd March, was throughout splendid; the heroism shown by the officers and the rest of the garrison in the defence of Chitral against a prolonged, well-sustained, and, on the whole, skilfully conducted attack, under circumstances of great difficulty, and above all, the indomitable pluck, dogged endurance, and admirable military skill displayed by Colonel Kelly and those with him in their wonderful march from Gilgit to Chitral, this enthusiasm is thoroughly justifiable. On the other hand, there was much in the conduct of General Low's expedition which, it may be suspected, will hardly meet with the unqualified approval of unbiased military critics. The tactics pursued at the storming of the Malakand Pass, for instance, were in some respects altogether inexplicable; and, though the enemy were driven from all their positions by the determined courage of our troops, and, owing to this and the great superiority of our weapons, our loss, considering the nature of the ground, the numbers of the enemy, and the strength of their defences, was astonishingly small, these tactics resulted in great confusion, and, under different conditions, would, in all probability, have resulted in terrible disaster. It is difficult, again, to defend the order detaching the Guides across the Panjkora river, under conditions which rendered them liable to be cut off at any moment from their supports, by the destruction of a frail bridge, a blunder which, when, from causes which should have been foreseen, that accident happened, nearly resulted in their being overwhelmed by superior numbers, and actually resulted in the loss of two valuable officers. The transport arrangements, moreover, were miserably inadequate, and, owing partly to this, and partly to the lack of proper means for the rapid crossing of the rivers, the progress of the force to Miankalai was inordinately slow.

Having said so much regarding the affair of the Guides, it is only fair to those immediately concerned, that we should quote the explanation of this unfortunate affair given by General Low. In his despatch, published in the *Gazette of India* of the 1st instant, he says :—

“ The whole of the route which should have been followed by the Guides Infantry, was in full view of the left bank of the Panjkora, and could easily be protected by infantry posted thereon. By some mistake, which can never be accounted for, Colonel Battye led his battalion up the Ushiri River into Bajour. At noon he sent a message by heliograph that two large bodies of the enemy were advancing against him. His battalion could not be supported, as troops could not cross the river to do so. It was, therefore, ordered to retire to its entrenched post, and the 2nd Brigade at once lined the high banks overlooking Panjkora River to cover its retirement. The battalion retired most deliberately, and this retirement was covered first by artillery fire from the left bank, and afterwards, as the enemy approached nearer, by the fire of the infantry and the Maxim guns. The enemy were in considerable strength, probably about 4,000 all told, and, I do not doubt, had heard of the broken bridge and thought that our troops on their side of the river might be cut off. With the knowledge that the troops could not be sent to his assistance, the visible strength of the advancing enemy, and the distance of his battalion from the covering fire of the troops on the left bank, it would undoubtedly have been wiser if the Officer Commanding had retired at once without waiting for orders. However, disinclination to retire is a fault on the right side, and the retirement, as it was carried out, was a splendid performance.”

After unusual delay, the Report of the Royal Commission on Opium has been laid before Parliament. In one respect it has proved a grateful surprise to the public in this country. Not only is the result a signal vindication of common sense, which might have been expected, but the Commission are practically unanimous, which was not expected, all the members but Mr. Wilson having signed the Report, and his dissent being deprived of what little weight it might otherwise have possessed, by the unworthy imputations made in it against the Government and its officers. As regards the effect of the use of Opium on the people of India, the Commission are of opinion that the abuse of the drug is much less common than has been alleged, and that its temperate use should be viewed in the same light as the temperate use of alcohol in England. It is the common domestic medicine of the people, and is the great cure for malarial fevers, and for dysentery, endemic diarrhoea and cholera, the group of diseases which come next in deadliness. Though it is widely used as a stimulant, especially by those past middle life, the two uses are so intermixed, that it would be impossible to draw a line between them, even if it were desirable to do so. It does not appear to lead to any specific disease, and there is no evidence of extensive moral or physical degeneration from its use. Nor does it lead, in any special degree, to suicide or to serious crime. In view of these and other facts, the Commissioners are not in favour of prohibiting either the growth of the poppy, or the

manufacture or sale of opium in India. As to the exportation of the drug to China, they are of opinion that it has no appreciable effect on its consumption in that country, which derives only one-fifth of its supply from India.

That this expression of opinion, arrived at after an exhaustive enquiry, and after giving the fullest consideration to the evidence produced by the anti-opiumists, will put an end, or even give pause, to the agitation, would be too much to hope, even if the motion of Sir Joseph Pease, mentioned below, were not conclusive on the point ; but it is not too much to expect that it will, for a long time to come, render the agitation politically harmless.

The Report of the Hemp Drugs Commission and the Resolution of the Government of India upon it have also been published. It is shown that, though excessive use of these drugs has occasionally led to violent crime, the mischief, whether moral, mental or physical, caused by their use, has been greatly exaggerated, and is not such as would justify their total prohibition. The Government have, however, determined to place additional restrictions on their production and sale, and to prohibit the importation of charas altogether.

The Financial Statement, which was presented to the Council by Sir James Westland on the 26th March, shows much more favourable results than were anticipated by the public, the revised estimates for 1894-95 giving a surplus of 99 lakhs, in the place of an estimated deficit of 30 lakhs, and the estimates for the current year showing an anticipated surplus of between 4 and 5 lakhs, after setting apart 33 lakhs, a sum which, however, is now certain to be largely exceeded, for the military operations in Waziristan and Chitral, and after providing for largely increased opium payments and a long needed addition of two rupees a month to the pay of the sepoy. Exchange is taken for the year at 1s. 1'09d., a figure which there is every reason to expect will be exceeded, and the price of opium at Rs. 1,300.

The Waziristan boundary demarcation has been completed.

The Commission which has been appointed to co-operate with the Chinese in the demarcation of the Sikkim-Tibet boundary, left Gnatok, the capital of Sikkim, for the purpose, on the 1st instant, and were to have met the Chinese Commissioners on the 9th. But, owing to the heavy snow which still covered the ridges, neither party was able to cross the watershed for some days. The first meeting, consequently, did not take place till the 18th, and the demarcation is still proceeding.

An interesting event took place at Tarakeshwar, on the 7th April, when His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal opened the Tarakeshwar-Mugra Branch Railway, the first work

of the kind carried out with native capital and through native agency. The execution of the undertaking, by the Bengal Provincial Railway Company, has been largely due to the efforts of Raja Peary Mohun Mukerjea, who represented the Company at the opening ceremony; and the line, which, it is hoped will be the forerunner of other works of a similar kind, has been engineered by Babu Ram Gati Banerjea.

The war in the Far East has been brought to what, at first sight, may seem a somewhat abrupt termination, but is really a conclusion equally creditable to the foresight and good sense of both sides. On the 23rd March, the Japanese occupied the Pescadores Islands, and a day or two later they bombarded and captured the port of Haichow. Li Hung Chang, the Chinese envoy, reached Simonoseki on the 19th March. In the negotiations which followed, the Japanese proposed certain terms for an armistice. To these Li Hung Chang refused to consent, and it was then proposed that the peace negotiations should go on without any suspension of hostilities. At this stage an attempt was made on the life of the Envoy by a Soshi, who fired at him and wounded him in the cheek. Thereupon the Mikado, as an expression of national contrition, ordered the Japanese plenipotentiaries to consent to a partial armistice until the 20th April. After a delay of some days, negotiations were resumed, and they were brought to a successful conclusion in the middle of April, the terms imposed on, and accepted by, China including the recognition of the independence of Korea; the cession to Japan of Formosa and the Pescadores, and the Liaotung Peninsula from Newchang to the Yalu; the payment of an indemnity of 200,000 taels in silver in five annual instalments; the opening up of several new ports to commerce, and other important commercial concessions, including the limitation of the Lekin duties to two per cent *ad valorem*, and permission to import machinery and establish factories. On the 23rd April, however, before the treaty had been ratified, formal protests were entered by Russia, Germany and France against the retention by Japan of any territories on the Chinese mainland, and preparation was made for a joint naval demonstration by the three Powers, which were subsequently joined by Spain.

It was at first regarded as doubtful whether the Japanese would accede to these representations, and popular opinion in the country was strongly in favour of their peremptory rejection. In the meantime the treaty was ratified by the Emperor at Peking. Ultimately, owing largely, it is believed, to British advice, prudent counsels prevailed, and the Japanese agreed to renounce the definitive possession of the Liaotung Peninsula, on terms which, apparently, have not been finally settled, but

are believed to include a material addition to the amount of the indemnity. In Formosa, the Black flags, and, probably, the Chinese troops have revolted in disgust at the cession of the island, and, it is said, have proclaimed a republic under the Presidentship of the late Governor. The latest news is that the Japanese, who will apparently have to conquer the island for themselves, have captured the port of Keelung, after severe fighting, in which the Chinese suffered heavily, and the Republic has collapsed. Negotiations for a large Chinese loan have been opened in Paris and Berlin; and one effect of the treaty has been an appreciable rise in the price of silver, which has now stood for some time at between 30*d* and 31*d*., and seems likely to improve still further.

The investigations of the Committee of Enquiry into the atrocities alleged to have been perpetrated by the Kurds, and the Turkish troops and officials, on the Armenians at Sasun and elsewhere in Armenia, though not yet completed, have established enough to bring the Powers to a sense of their duty under the Treaty of Berlin, and the necessity for energetic action; and a joint note has been presented to the Porte by Great Britain, France and Russia, demanding the immediate carrying out of a thorough-going scheme of reforms. It requires, among other things, that one-third of the officials in Armenia shall be Christians; that the Powers shall have the right to veto the appointment of Governors; that a High Commissioner, approved by the Powers, shall supervise the carrying out of the reforms, and remain in office till they are completed; that a Commission, composed of Mahomedans and Christians, shall sit at Constantinople to watch over the administration of Armenia; that the Gendarmerie shall be recruited from Mahomedans and Christians; that Courts of Assize shall be established, and prisons inspected; that the inhabitants of Sasun shall be indemnified for their losses, and, last not least, that the Kurds shall be disarmed. The Porte having asked to be allowed to postpone its reply till after the feast of Bairam, the British ambassador peremptorily refused to consent to the delay, and an early reply has been promised. It is expected that this will be unsatisfactory, and the British Fleet has been ordered to Beyrout, in anticipation of a display of force being necessary to bring the Sultan's Government to reason.

A great public meeting to protest against the atrocities and insist upon the fulfilment of the 61st article of the Treaty of Berlin, was held at St. James' Hall, London, on the 7th May, under the presidency of the Duke of Argyle, and afterwards of the Duke of Westminster, the former of whom made

a powerful speech, in which the special responsibility of England was placed in a very clear light.

In English Home politics, the most important events of the quarter have been the election of the Ministerial candidate, Mr. Gully, to the Speakership of the House of Commons, rendered vacant by the retirement of Mr. Peel, over Sir Mathew Ridley, the Conservative candidate, by a majority of 285 to 274, and the marked advantage obtained by the Unionists at the bye elections, two seats, Walworth and Mid-Norfolk, having been captured by them, and the Unionist majority having been increased, or the Radical majority reduced, in every other case.

Mr. Peel has been granted a life pension, and raised to the peerage as a Viscount.

The English Budget, which was introduced on the 2nd May and has since been passed, is of a somewhat tame character. The accounts of the past year closed with a surplus of £766,000, in the place of an estimated surplus of £291,000. The estimates for the current year showed a deficit of £319,000, to balance which Sir W. Harcourt proposed to renew the additional duty of 6*d.* a barrel on beer, which would have expired on the 1st July, leaving the additional duty on spirits to die a natural death. There is a good deal to be said in justification of this selection on financial grounds; so the fact that it is specially calculated to gratify the people of Ireland, may be accepted as merely a happy coincidence.

Sir Joseph Pease, on the 24th May, moved a Resolution in the House of Commons, condemning the Opium revenue as morally unjustifiable, and urging the suppression of the cultivation and sale, except for medicinal purposes. In the course of his speech, he is reported to have declared that the whole power of the Government had been exerted to procure evidence in favour of the drug, a statement which has deservedly drawn down on him the severe censure of *The Times*. The motion was defeated by 176 to 59, numbers that are eloquent of the effect which the result of the Enquiry has had on intelligent public opinion.

Among Government Bills which have been read a second time, are the Bill to repeal the Irish Crimes Act; the Welsh Disestablishment Bill, and the Factory and Workshops Bill, the last a non-contentious measure which was read without a division. Mr. Bolton's Corrupt Practices Bill dealing with aspersion of the character of Parliamentary candidates, has also been read a second time. Bills have been introduced by the Government to abolish plural voting, and to facilitate the construction of light tramways; and Lord Halifax has introduced a Bill in

the Upper House to repeal clause 58 of the Divorce Act, which requires clergymen to give the use of their Churches for the marriage of divorced persons.

The promised Royal Commission to enquire into Indian expenditure and the apportionment of certain charges between India and England, has been appointed, the members consisting of Mr. George Curzon, Sir Donald Stewart, Sir W. Wedderburn, Sir W. Jackson, Sir Edward Hamilton, Sir J. Peile, Sir Andrew Scoble, and Messrs. J. Courtney, Dadabhai Naorojee, W. Caine, T. Buchanan, Ralph Knox and George Ryder, with Lord Welby as President, a selection which seems to forbid all hope of a unanimous report.

A great sensation has been created in England by the trial and conviction of the celebrated Oscar Wilde, on shameful charges, an event which, however deplorable, may, in one sense, be welcomed as making for sanity.

A settlement has been arrived at between the Government and the British East Africa Company, which has accepted an offer of £200,000, to be paid by the Sultan of Zanzibar, and £50,000. to be paid by Parliament, for the complete surrender of its territory and property.

Among other important events of the quarter in England, may be mentioned a prolonged strike of the operatives in the boot and shoe trade, which has happily been brought to a conclusion; the formation of a Monometallist League in the city to combat the spread of the Bimetallist heresy, with which may be coupled the delivery of a remarkable address in favour of bimetallism by Mr. Balfour, and a declaration by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that the Government is determined to adhere to the present currency system, and the visit of the Amir's younger son, Nasr Ullah Khan, who has been right royally received, and is lodged in Dorchester House.

In Continental politics, note may be taken of the rejection of the Anti-revolutionary and Tobacco Bills of the Government by the German Reichstag, and the refusal of the same body to vote a congratulatory address to Prince Bismarck on the occasion of his birthday. The Prussian Diet having adopted a Resolution urging the Imperial Chancellor to take steps for an international regulation of the currency, with a view to the ultimate establishment of bimetallism, a conference of bankers has been held in Berlin to protest against any change in the existing system, and to deprecate Germany's joining in a conference on the question.

Severe earthquakes have taken place in Trieste and Laibach and their neighbourhood, causing great damage to buildings, especially at Laibach, where the museum, theatres and churches

have been seriously injured, with considerable loss of life ; and less severe shocks have been experienced in Florence and its neighbourhood and in Sicily and Southern Italy.

In the United States of America the currency question is being hotly agitated and promises to be the great political question of the immediate future. The enquiry by an extraordinary Grand Jury in New York into the charges of corruption against the police, has resulted in the indictment of a large number of officials. The Grand Jury have further reported that high police officials have persistently endeavoured to thwart the enquiry, and that the fortune of the Head of the Force was gained by the sale of official favours. The Supreme Court at Washington has pronounced the levying of Income Tax on real estates and State and Municipal bonds to be unconstitutional, a decision which is expected to reduce the yield of the tax by half, and will seriously affect the annual Budget. The estimated deficit for the current year exceeds forty-five million dollars.

The Government of Nicaragua having refused to comply with the demand of Great Britain for an indemnity of £15,000 for the recent expulsion of Vice-Consul Hatch, a British force was landed at Corinto and occupied the Custom House. The Nicaraguans, however, ultimately yielded, and the occupation ceased. The indemnity has since been paid.

Differences with France, which may prove serious, have arisen on the Niger, owing to renewed acts of aggression on the part of the French in territory assigned to the Royal Niger Company, and included by European agreement within the sphere of British influence. The French expeditionary force in Madagascar is advancing on the Hova capital, and has so far met with no serious resistance.

The famous Slatin Bey has effected his escape from Omdurman, with the aid of Arab guides, after a captivity of twelve years, and arrived in Cairo on the 19th March.

Lord Roberts has been appointed to succeed Lord Wolseley as Commander-in-Chief in Ireland, and has been created a Field Marshal.

The obituary of the quarter includes the names of Lord Selborne ; the Earl of Pembroke ; the Duke of Hamilton ; Sir Robert Peel ; General W. G. Owen ; General C. Thompson ; Deputy Inspector-General Moorhead ; the Earl of Bessborough ; the Very Rev. W. R. Fremantle, Dean of Ripon ; Sir E. Bunbury ; Mr. W. F. Finlayson ; Dr. W. C. Bennett ; the Rev. C. W. Boase ; Admiral Sir G. Giffard ; Mr. G. H. Lawrence ; the Duc de Noailles ; Mr. W. H. Paton, R. S. A. ; the Rev. J. Pycroft ;

Mr. W. N. Sainsbury ; Sir R. W. Duff ; Mr. Corney Grain ; Mr. A. G. Reed ; Vice-Admiral J. Borlase ; Major-General Thring ; Admiral Sir W. F. Martin, Mr. John Bell, the sculptor ; Admiral Lord C. E. Paget ; Mr. J. Sime ; Sir Patrick Grant ; Admiral Lord Alcester ; General Sir George Chesney ; Sir C. Mills ; Lieutenant-Colonel Battye ; Professor Dana ; Major-General Crealock ; Sir George Buchanan ; M. Karl Vogt, and Raja Siva Prosad.

9th June 1895.

SUMMARY OF ANNUAL REPORTS.

Report on the Administration of the Punjab and its Dependencies for 1893-94. Lahore : Printed at the Punjab Government Press.

THE Punjab Administration Report for 1893-94 is a record of hopeful prosperity, the advancement of civilizing influences, and masterly activity in all departments of Government. The frontier was, for the most part, profoundly peaceful ; crime decreased ; the jail population diminished ; the year was a healthy one ; both harvests were above the average. The financial difficulty that imposes its weight on the whole of the Empire was the one crumpled rose leaf hindering entire satisfaction in the thoughts of those who controlled the machinery of administration. We say machinery, because administration of affairs in the country that Runjeet Singh, with all his forceful methods did not succeed in reducing to order, is consistently growing to be as much an affair of well devised and controlled machinery, as it has been since Lord William Bentinck's day in Bengal.

The Chiefs of the States within our borders are commended for good rule, with the exception of Patiala and Bahawalpur. With the exception of the Mahsud Waziris, the tribes on the N.-W. Frontier of the province were thoroughly well behaved. Settlement has been effected of all the outstanding offences of the Kabul Khel Waziris, bar the Saifali clan,—which, however, has not been guilty of any fresh outrages. But for a single offence complete quiet has prevailed on the Black Mountain border. In Kurram, thanks to the tact of Mr. W. Merk, C. S. I. matters "have settled down in a very remarkable way." His successor, Mr. Donald, C. I. E., has settled the boundary, between Kurram and the Amir's territory, and there is now every reason to hope for maintenance of peace there. The Lieutenant Governor, visiting the country in the spring, was everywhere received by the people with great heartiness. In Sir Denis Fitzpatrick's estimation, the most important event connected with the administration of the Punjab Frontier, during the year of report, has been the agreement executed by His Highness the Amir of Kabul in November last for the delimitation of the Afghan boundary. He says : "When the frontier record of 1894-95 comes to be written, it will be found that the principal events are closely connected with the proceedings which have been undertaken in connection with the above agreement." Cis-border settlements and re-assessments have been vigorously

pushed ; most of those in the Central Punjab, commenced under Sir James Lyall, have been completed. The settlements of Lahore, Amritsar, Gujranwala, and Kangra, have resulted in an annual addition of about 8 lakhs to the revenue roll. The demand for the year on account of fixed land revenue was nearly 212½ lakhs, more than 6½ lakhs in excess of what it was two years ago. The increase is almost entirely due to new assessments. The percentage of collection on demand was 99·2 ; in only four districts did it fall below 98. No coercive measures were necessary, except the issue of some writs and warrants under sections 68 and 69 of the Land Revenue Act. About Rs. 24,000 was remitted, mostly in the Shahpur and Jullundur districts, where hail was very destructive. The amount of advances under the Land Improvement Act fell to Rs 2,18,582. Under the Agriculturists Loan Act, on the other hand, Rs. 1,06,859 was advanced, as against Rs. 62,810 in the previous year.

The reports on civil and criminal justice, police, registration, Public Works, &c., have already been noticed in detail in these columns. As to Public Works it may be as well to quote paragraph 18 of the general summary :—

“ The expenditure incurred in the Public Works Department amounted to nearly 56½ lakhs of rupees as against 60 lakhs in the preceding year. This reduction was mainly due to the fact that it was found necessary to devote 3 lakhs of the funds originally allotted to the Department in order to provide for expenditure in other Departments caused by the grant of compensation allowances on account of the fall in exchange. Of the total amount expended in the Public Works Department nearly 6 lakhs were on account of Imperial Military Works, 5½ on account of Imperial Civil, while 27 lakhs were spent on Provincial Works. District Boards spent more than 9 lakhs and Municipal Committees nearly 5½. Efforts were made during the year to reduce the cost of buildings, and an officer was placed on special duty to revise the standard plans and specifications in order to attain this object. In the case of roads also enquiries were made with a view to curtailing the high cost of their maintenance, and it is believed that the introduction of steam rollers will not only effect a real economy as compared with the cost of animal or manual labour, but will be productive of a better quality of work. Considerable damage was caused by high floods, especially in the Chenab and Jhelum rivers, the former having done serious injury to the head-quarter civil station at Muzaffargarh, and the latter having destroyed the suspension bridge at Kohala, which is on the most used route into Kashmir. The settlement of the Kurram Valley and the consequent location of a defensible cantonment at Para Chinari, a few miles from the old Kurram Fort, necessitated the formation of an independent executive charge for an officer of the Public Works Department. Among the more important works completed in the Province during the year are the Simla water-works and sewage extension scheme, the new Lahore Museum, in which was held a Punjab Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures, and the Jail at Montgomery, which has now been given the status of a Central Jail. Progress was made with the Delhi drainage works, while those

at Ludhiana were completed and made over to the Municipality. The intra-mural drainage scheme at Gujranwala was also practically completed, and water-supply at Kohat was made available for general use in June 1893. Good progress was also made with the Umballa City water-works."

With reference to education and its prospects, the record tells us:—

"There are three colleges in Lahore and one in Delhi, which teach up to degree standards. The number of students who pass out as M. A's or M. O. L's. is small and fluctuating, but the number who attained the B. A. degree was no less than 108 in 1893 94, as compared with 51 in the year before. The increase is more than 100 per cent. There were proportionately smaller, but still considerable, increases in the number successful in the Entrance and Intermediate Examinations. In the Lahore Medical College and School the number of students has increased, but the examination results were unfortunately poor. The Law School largely increased its number of students, and the number of passes was satisfactory.

In Secondary Schools the most marked feature is the continued increase in Anglo-Vernacular institutions. There is also a marked increase in the number of agricultural scholars, who now amount to nearly 24 per cent. of the whole. On the other hand, there is a slight falling off in the agriculturists attending Primary Schools, but this may be due to a stricter classification. The Zamindari Schools have not yet succeeded in making themselves popular, but their results, as shown by examination, were very satisfactory. Great attention was paid during the year to physical training, and the discipline and conduct of the schools is in general well reported on, more especially in the Anglo-Vernacular institutions. The Central Training College and the Normal Schools continued to do good work. There is nothing important to be noted on the subject of female education. Among schools of a special character those for Europeans are well reported on, and the Aitchison College, for Punjab Chiefs, was very successful at examinations. From the Intermediate Examination in Arts down to the Lower Primary, only two candidates failed out of all who offered themselves from this institution. The system of grants to Private Schools shows some development."

Report on the Administration of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands and the Penal Settlement of Port Blair for 1893 94.
Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, India. 1894.

THE event of the year was the murderous assault committed by a life convict, named Huri Ram, on the person of Colonel Horsford, the Chief Commissioner, Andaman and Nicobar Islands, and Superintendent, Port Blair, on the evening of the 20th January 1894, at about 5-15 P.M., whilst that officer was standing in the front part of the pavilion on the lawn tennis ground on Ross Island, surrounded by officers and their wives witnessing the termination of an obstacle race that formed part of some athletic sports that were being held by the garrison. The attack was so sudden that it was some little time

before the bystanders fully realised what was happening. The would-be assassin was seized by several officers and his weapon taken from him. It was, however, due to the heroic conduct of Mrs. Horsford, that Colonel Horsford owed his escape from more serious injuries.

On his trial, there being no trace of any extenuating circumstance in the case, the extreme sentence of the law was passed by the Sessions Court, which sentence, on confirmation by the Court of Reference, was carried out on the 14th March 1894.

The following statement furnishes particulars of the number of Criminal Cases disposed of in which free persons and convicts were severally implicated as compared with the preceding year :—

	1892-93.				1893-94			
	Number of cases.		Number of accused.		Number of cases.		Number of accused.	
	Free.	Con-vict.	Free.	Con-vict.	Free.	Con-vict.	Free.	Con-vict.
Convicted	53	13	...	...	56	3
Acquitted or discharged	18	1	...	..	16	2
Committed to sessions	8	17	...	...	3	12
Compromised	2	...	...	...	3	...
Pending
Escaped	1
	62	26	81	31	62	18	78	18

Seven cases of murder and three cases of attempt to murder by convicts were brought to trial, against ten cases of the former and two of the latter of the previous year. There was also one case committed to the sessions under section 307, Indian Penal Code. Ten men were sentenced to death, against nine in the preceding year.

The following figures show that there were in the Settlement at the end of the year—

	Percentage, of total.
32 Christians, or	29
2,831 Mahomedans, or	26.74
6,562 Hindus, or ...	61.97
1,087 Budhists, or	10.27
77 Other religions, or	73

The Christians enumerated above consist of two Eurasians and thirty Natives.

The total number of corporal punishments awarded during the year was 375, being at the rate of 3.80 per cent. on the

average daily strength, a considerable reduction on the ratio of the previous year, when 543 floggings were administered, giving a percentage of 5·39.

The estimated value of jail manufactures during the year under report is calculated at Rs. 3,67,180, as against Rs. 3,09,951 of the previous year.

Final Report on the Revision of the Settlement of Shahpur District in the Punjab, 1887-94. By J. WILSON, ESQ., C.S., Collector. Lahore: The "Civil and Military Gazette" Press. 1894.

The following are some of the leading statistics of the district :—

DETAILS.	District.	DETAIL OF TAHSILS.		
		Bhera.	Shahpur.	Khusháb.
Total square miles ...	4.737	1,169	1,030	2,538
Cultivated square miles (1893) ...	1,074	354	364	356
Culturable square miles (1893) ..	3,186	756	616	1,814
Irrigated square miles (1893) ...	507	180	301	26
Average square miles under crops (five years ending 1892 93) ...	793	280	249	264
Annual rainfall in inches (1884 93)	14·0	15·4	12·7	10·7
Number of inhabited towns and villages (1891) ...	705	290	266	149
Total population (1891) ...	493,588	195,585	146,376	151,627
Rural population (1891) ...	440,738	171,008	127,933	141,795
Urban population (1891) ...	52,852	24,577	18,443	9,832
Total population per square mile (1891) ...	102	168	142	61
Rural population per square mile (1891) ...	91	147	124	57
Hindús (1891) ...	66,065	28,266	22,706	15,093
Sikhs (1891) ...	9,777	2,368	3,737	3,672
Musalmáns (1891) ...	417,661	164,917	119,919	132,825
Gross final fixed land revenue ...	644,864	255,119	194,503	195,242
Present khálsa land revenue (1893-94) ...	544,398	214,820	165,293	164,285

The probable revenue realisable by the State for the next five years may be roughly estimated as follows, though it cannot be said with certainty when the great bulk of the deferred assessment will be first realised. The basis of the calculation

is the land revenue roll for the year 1893-94, which amounts to Rs. 5,44,398 :—

Financial year.			Land revenue proper.	Water-advantage rates.	Total.
			Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1894-95	...	...	5,50,000	25,000	5,75,000
1895-96	...	...	5,65,000	35,000	6,00,000
1896-97	...	...	5,80,000	40,000	6,20,000
1897-98	...	...	5,82,000	43,000	6,25,000
1898-99	...	...	5,85,000	45,000	6,30,000

The water-advantage income this year will be less than the average, owing to the great damage done by the flood of July 1893; but it is certain to increase rapidly, as canal irrigation is being rapidly extended. When it is remembered that the land revenue roll for the last year before revision was Rs. 3,94,596, and that, but for the revision of settlement, it would not now have exceeded four lakhs, the advantage to the State from the settlement operations will be appreciated.

Report on the Land Revenue Administration of the Punjab, for the Agricultural year, 1st October 1893 to 30th September 1894.
Lahore : The "Civil and Military Gazette" Press, Contractors to the Punjab Government, 1895.

THIS Report was submitted by the Financial Commissioner with commendable punctuality.

It included the autumn harvest of 1893 and the spring harvest of 1894. The autumn crop was below average in the south-west of the Province, and not more than average in the south-east. But elsewhere it may be said, generally, that it was decidedly good. Cotton and rice were especially successful. The spring crop was of exceptional excellence, and was harvested in favourable weather. So far as areas go, however, there was on the year a falling-off as compared with the year preceding. The spring crop, indeed, increased by more than nine lakhs of acres, but the autumn crop fell off by more than two millions. This decrease is attributed partly to comparison with the unusually extensive kharif area of 1892, and partly to the lateness of the rabi harvest in 1893, which delayed and curtailed operations for the following kharif. The cultivated area of the year under report is, however, the largest on record except that of 1892-93. The expansion of rabi cultivation in recent years is remarkable. Twenty years ago the returns in millions of acres gave 9.6 for the kharif, and 10.0 for the rabi. In the year under report the proportion was 10.1 to 15.5.

The land revenue demand for the year was nearly 218 lakhs, or about $5\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs higher than in the previous year. With the exception of a sum of Rs. 1,72,680, the whole of this was collected—the collections amounting to 99·2 per cent. of the demand.

Report on the Working of Municipalities in the Punjab, during the year 1893-94. Lahore: At the Punjab Government Press, 1895.

NO new Municipality was established, and no existing Municipality was abolished during the year under review.

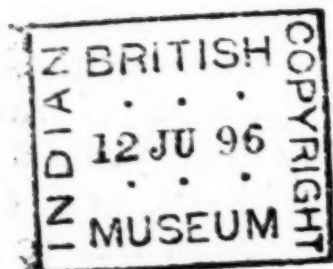
The elective system of appointing members of Committee was re-introduced in Hoshiárpur. Otherwise no changes of system took place.

The proportion of voters who recorded their votes was higher in the Municipalities of the Lahore Division, where it reached 69·94 per cent., than in any other Division. The percentages within the Division showed no wide difference, but the highest were at Lahore and Majitha, 80 per cent. each, Sujánpur 76 per cent., Tarn Taran 73 per cent., and Mooltan 70 per cent.

In the Delhi Division the general working of Committees was satisfactory with a few exceptions.

In the Lahore Division the Amritsar Committee continues to maintain its high reputation.

The revenue and expenditure of the year, under all heads, amounted to Rs. 41,52,056 and Rs. 39,79,020, the former being Rs. 3,07,015 more, and the latter Rs. 3,29,225 less than the income and outlay of the previous year. The increase of revenue was obtained almost entirely from taxation, the octroi collections having been better by nearly Rs. 3,12,000, and taxation generally, including the octroi, having yielded Rs. 3,10,000 more. The decrease of expenditure is due, broadly, to the completion of the Simla water-supply and sewerage extension projects, on which more than Rs. 3,00,000 were spent in 1892-93.



CRITICAL NOTICES.

Ernest England, or A Soul Laid Bare : A Drama for the closet.
By J. A. PARKER, late Editor of *The Indian Daily News*,
Calcutta.

AS far as we are aware, this is Mr. Parker's first appearance in the world of letters, as a dramatic writer. His drama, however, is not intended for the stage. The prevailing tone of the work is serious, and he writes with a high moral purpose. There is, nevertheless, no lack of transitions from grave to gay, from lively to serene. Some persons might regard it as a medley of agnostic science, philosophical speculation and Hindu mythology viewed from the standpoint of Swedenborgianism, and consider, too, that the author had attempted too much. Yet we are bound to say that there is a method in all the seeming madness, and that the main purpose of the work has been steadily kept in view, *viz.*, the effect of a diversified experience on the development of human character—the *soul laid bare* in the changeful phases of a chequered life.

The hero of the drama is Ernest England, a young artist who saves the life of an Indian officer, and between whom and that officer's daughter springs up an attachment, which, like all true love, does not "run smooth." The father worships money and position, and seeks them in any one who desires the hand of the young lady. The character of the ideal artist is touched with great effect, and the hollowness of worldly respectability shown up with considerable power. The following extract, which gives Widow England's account of the way in which she educated her son, is not an unfair specimen of the author's manner. She is a pious old lady, who has been blind for twenty-three years, and whose temper has been mellowed by affliction. She says :—

" Let me say,
I have spurred him to high flights, self-poised, to seize
The rational in thought. I have not thrust
On him, day in, day out, the good old book
Whose holy manna nerves my soul : his mind
Being prone to suck Doubt's philosophic teat.
But I, the seeress—I, the mother, know
The fibre-fealty of his virile breast,
Hence tactful I sway, mould him through the heart,
The mother magnet bonding him her slave.
Thus couch'd 'neath sabbath stars, I parle o' Christ,
Wake in the youth the Eden of the child,
Raise old-time thoughts that rapture-held the babe,
Quaint love of ark, burned bush, and Joseph's coat,

Babble o' those sweet "blesseds" from the Mount
 That to the soul's what iron is to blood,
 Till, heart to heart locked, his tears mingle mine.
 Great God protect him ! Angels find him well !"

This old lady, as well as her son's affianced, are very far from being advocates of woman's rights in the modern sense. The following occurs in a conversation with the Vicar of Blackrock.

Carl Dur.—"I think the political arena no place for a self-respecting woman."

Wid. Eng.—"Woman cannot touch pitch without defilement."

Carl Dur.—

"Remember Vicar that our homes conceal
 Bright typic forms of English womanhood ;
 And then, for God, ask prayerwise if for these
 The feculent air of politics befit,
 Where dicers throws are masked 'neath party votes
 And leagued cupidity works her leaven of lies."

Wid. Eng.—

"Remember, too, the feminine soul exposed,
 Takes on assuiment readier than man's ;
 That woman, who flies nearer earth than man,
 At least who in the joint flight lower sinks,
 When once her wings beat its attainting mire,
 Must needs pray God to keep His angels by."

The following specimens will give an idea of the dialogue :

Vicar.—

"But is not woman well-equipped with brains
 To earn bread like a man ?"

Wid. Eng.—

"No, Vicar, no
 Man for the open, woman for the hearth.
 He, stern, Titanic, should win bread for her,
 And in the Senate frame just laws for both,
 She, subtly planned—wife mother—, she should bring
 The heaven glow to his home."

Again :

"That gift which lifts her up t' the eerie cloud,
 Above man's range—near suns and stellar worlds,
 And subtle light and auras that suggest
 An alchemy transcending space and time.
 Her quick heart-instinct,—this—ah, this a sense
 That flings a gauntlet at your logic schools,
 And shames the tardy wisdom flights of men,
 Is hers by sex."

General Durand, opposes the union of his daughter with a poor artist, however high his character and however great his gifts, but fails in getting him to accept a place in Jamaica on £ 1,000 a year. In spite of all the aid of his friends—a money-loving University Professor, a Vicar past his prime, whose suit is highly favoured by the father, and other worshippers of Mammon—young England and Miss Durand have several meetings. The conversations between them (at

least on her part) are all pitched to the key-note of Swedenborgianism. The new Church doctrine of the marital relationship has an interest quite its own, and will, to the discerning reader, distinctly appear in the following extracts :—

Ern. Eng.—

“ Darling, thy words
Are grateful as a messenger's from heaven.
Oh, we will walk the vale of life together ;
And sip the honey from the flowers of time.”

Carl Dur.—

Nay, Ernest ; more than that I do believe,
True marriage is eternal. Souls that grow
To oneness here win to the Elysian fields.
Twain in the flesh, yet souled to mate as one,
Oh, let us strive to mate as one.
Oh, let us strive to make our love-clasped lives
Finished exemplar of heaven's unity.
Have I not told thee, sex is of the soul ?
In woman, lo, the dominant note is love.
In man 'tis wisdom, both of the mind divine.”

The great idea of the Swedish seer was that, like the union of goodness and truth in the Divine being, the perfect man (male and female) was the union of love and wisdom. Only the wisdom was represented by the man ; the love by the woman. A union such as this constituted true marriage, and where it really existed, was eternal. Death did not dissolve a true marriage. The meetings, however, of the devoted pair in this drama were rudely interrupted by General Durand, who put a stop to the intercourse of the lovers, by starting, suddenly and without intimation to young England, with his daughter, for India, and preventing her corresponding with her admirer. Left to himself and hearing nothing from Miss Durand, Ernest was like a ship without ballast, and was tempted to enter a Music Hall, where he fell into the meshes of a painted and accomplished courtesan. The result developed a part of his nature not very pleasing, yet admirably adapted to the purposes of the writer of the drama, who depicts the outward conduct of his hero with a touch of the realism of modern novelists, and the subsequent inward remorse with striking effect. We need not follow young England into scenes which do not enhance our respect for his character. But Mr. Parker's insight into nature, as here brought out, is deep and real. A single night's debauch is followed by days and nights of misery and despair, which are powerfully portrayed. But one passage must suffice us :—

Ern. Eng.—(dejectedly).

“ Another night of torture ! Visions blurred
With orgies of a Bacchanalian hell !
Dreams, too, the spawn of foulness that beget
A crave for waking, and, when waking comes,

Unhappy memories of unrighteous deeds,
 My soul's been down th' abyss called horrible,
 Where Pope Despair's a polity of his own ;
 Where the great passionate longings of the heart,
 Yearnings cooped up in the saintly part of us,
 That seem to man and woman more than life,
 Are murder-crush'd, subdued to th' pontiff will ;
 Where sighs and shrieks escaping human wrecks
 In volume fan the pontiff brow ; where hope
 Carries her torch inverted ; where hot tears
 Shut light for ever from remorse-racked eyes "

Shortly after this Widow England falls ill and dies. In connexion with her sickness, as well as in other connexions, we are brought into contact with the hopeful utterances of a popular preacher called *Hallelujah Jack*, and the cynical criticisms of an agnostic Professor McMattamad. Some portion of the book is occupied with the opinions of these very different types of religious teachers. Young England's mind gets unhinged after his debauch at the Music Hall, and is not improved much by the loss of his good and wise mother. The shifting phases of religious opinion through which he passes, going steadily in the direction of pessimism and despair, are a part of that *laying bare of the soul* which is the object of Mr. Parker's book. Hallelujah Jack is a man whose heart is larger than his head, with instincts truer than his creed ; but he does not appear to much advantage under the critical processes to which he is subjected by the agnostic Professor. However, the story proceeds in the tragic line, and Ernest England learns of the death of General Durand in the trenches at Cawnpur, and has the most gloomy forebodings of the fate of Miss Durand, which is wrapt in obscurity. He leaves England for India on a troop ship, the S. S. Agamemnon, as Corporal Hope. On the passage we are introduced to a new character, Mr. Sumbhoo Nath Pundit, an intelligent Native convert, whose animated discussions with British officers are worth reading. The officers do not often come out victorious in the conflict of opinions, for they are, of course, always on the side opposed to humanity when discussing their favourite pastimes of hunting and shooting with an anti-vivisectionist like the Pundit.

Corporal Hope, after a futile attempt to cast himself into the sea, from which he is saved by Sumbhoo Nath Pundit, reaches India. He sees some action in the Mutiny, and then comes a most extraordinary part of the development of the plot. He is bent on finding Miss Durand, or obtaining some trace of her fate. In this quest he meets a Yogi, in a wild spot on the banks of the Nerbudda, to whom he thus unfolds his grief :—

Corp. Hope.—I love a woman whom I seek in vain,
 I've prayed, I've striven, to see her face again,
 Yet doth she come nightly in my sleep ;
 I kiss her, then I wake ; then — then—I weep."

Yogi.—"Hast thou sought her well?"

Corp. Hope.—"Ay, till be-maimed and scarred these weary feet ;

But, Yogi, 'tis not given us to meet.

Where the gored vulture scours Neilgherry's chain,

Or shrieks on Mahadeva's scarped steep ;

Where Gunga leaves the dreary jungle's sweep ;

Where Vindhya slopes his plateaus to the main ;

Where Pooree's shrine is sprayed by the salty deep ;

Where Indus' silver threads the Panjaub's plain ;

Where Kinchinjunga frowns with visage hoar,

There have I sought her."

The Yogi suggests further inquiry, and, as a result, takes him into a temple of Kali, or Bhowbanee (Bhowanee). Into a weird subterranean chamber, midst thunder and lightning, Corporal Hope is conducted behind a gigantic figure of the goddess ; and, after climbing a stair at its back, "both look through the massive crystals that form the goddess's eyes." The scenes here depicted at first suggest pictures from Goethe's Faust—"Walpurgis night" is recalled. But, looking at it attentively, we find something very different—the Swedenborgian idea of hell, as a place where the wicked are permitted to plunge into wicked delights, provided they do not thereby infringe the rights of others. Satans and Devils (a distinction peculiarly Swedenborgian) are introduced. A succession of stanzas, by Devils attended by Lictors, begin with the following verse :—

"We have no little children here,
Their sinlessness is what we fear,
Their innocence we repel.

We hate the infant's pearly smile
Because it is so free from guile ;
Guile is the heart of hell."

Lectors.—"Go to, go to, Hell hath a ditch
For every guileful dog or bitch."

What connection all this can have with the temple of Bhowanee, is to us a mystery. However, it is for aid in finding Carlotta Durand that Earnest has come here ; and after a proper amount of waiting, he is told by Kali's genii :

"Go south by east " is the message of Bhowbanee,
Where Adigunga clasps the *Kala-panee*.

The oracle, of course, means Calcutta, where, in the Medical Hospital, was employed Miss Durand as a nurse, with the name of Sister Hilda. Corporal Hope finds Sister Hilda at last, while attending on his sick bed in the hospital. The scene presently changes to England, where she appears as Mrs. England, and their nuptials bear fruit in a beautiful boy, Oscar. These events bring home to Ernest more hopeful views of God, and his creed reverts to that of the days of his courtship. Nor does he abandon his hope and trust in the Supreme when adversity again comes and he loses child and wife. In conclusion, he himself becomes a confirmed paralytic, but nothing shakes his confidence in the goodness of God.

Prince Bismarck. (The Statesmen series.) By Charles Lowe
M. A. W. H. Allen & Co. (Ld.) 13, Waterloo Place, London,
S. W.

THIS little work appears to be the second of the useful series which is being re-issued at the popular price of one shilling. Mr. Lowe has an easy fluent style, and, while writing of his hero in that spirit of appreciation without which a biography would hardly be worth the name, he is by no means blind to the faults and mistakes of the great man whose career he sketches. The public history of Bismarck is the political history of Europe for the last 30 years; and in dealing with the vast changes which have been brought about by the influence of the "honest broker" in the relations of the great powers, Mr. Lowe has written in a spirit of moderation and fairness which can hardly be rated too high. The judicial temper pervades the book, and encourages the general reader to rely implicitly on its accounts of transactions and assessments of motives.

Bismarck was born in the year of Waterloo, 1815. His birth-place was an old family mansion in the village of Schönhausen, in the old Mark (or Marche) of Brandenburg. On the other side of the Elbe stands an old townlet named Bismark (without the *c*) guarded by a fortalice from which the ancestors of the Unifier of Germany derived their name. There are very numerous branches of the family all sprung from the common stock of the old Mark of Brandenburg. The subject of this sketch was Bismarck *Schonhausen*, the Schonhausens being the chief of the Bismarck clan. The family had attained noble rank in the 14th century. The worth of such military ancestry, in a historical point of view, is undoubted; but Mr. Lowe, with the quiet irony which slips sometimes almost unconsciously from his pen, says, "Most of the Chancellor's paternal ancestors had been mighty hunters and drinkers before the Lord." The martial traditions among which he had been reared helped to form the man of 'blood and iron;' but deeper than all must have been his impression of the invasion of Germany by the Napoleonic French which the boy gathered from his parents—"impressions of wrong and rapine and national shame."

After his school course at Berlin, he passed in his 17th year into the University of Goettingen, into the spirit of which he entered fully—"reading, duelling and drinking in the time-honoured German way." But even in this student life, Bismarck was not merely a roysterer and fighter. He had a keen perception of the substantial benefits of peace, and when left in a position of second to two duellists—an English student and a German—who were bent on shedding blood, he so

managed matters in measuring the distance between them that no one was injured. This humane act, however, did not save him from ten days' solitary confinement. It was at Berlin, whither he next went, that he formed a friendship with John Lothrop Motley, the American historian of the Dutch republic. But he could not pull along with academic authority: he was born to be a soldier, and though he entered the Civil Service, and remained in it a while, he entered the Jager or sharp-shooter battalion of the guards at Potsdam, as a one-year volunteer. For eight years he was "farming, hunting soldiering, carousing, studying, acting as local deputy and Magistrate, and rubbing off the rust of country life with occasional excursions into the great world: this involved visits to England and France. On his return home he joined the Lancer regiment of the Landwehr as a Lieutenant, and carried his first decoration, the one of which he always was the proudest, the Prussian Humane Society's medal for saving his soldier servant from drowning. The only other event worth noticing at this time of his life, was his marriage with Fraulein Joanna, daughter of Henrich von Puttkamer, a Pomeranian squire who, notwithstanding his apparent indifference to the sex, seems to have deeply impressed him. She was an ideal German wife, and the union was a happy one, in which his greatest enemies could find no flaw.

It is difficult for an Englishman at the present day to realise the absolutism of Bismarck—the doctrine of the divine right of kings, which is regarded under our free institutions as an exploded error, was held by the German Chancellor as an essential article of his creed. Nay, he frankly acknowledged that his views were of a kind which his opponents characterised as "dark and mediæval." The phrase 'By God's grace,' appended to the names of Christian sovereigns, were for him no mere empty sounds; "but an acknowledgment rather that the princes thus entrusted with God's sceptre meant to rule with it on earth in accordance with God's will." That, again, meant ruling, not by Parliament, but by the army, which was the mainstay of the Prussian state. Indeed he regarded the counteraction of democracy as a much more pressing task, than the promotion of national unity. Such views, expressed with no uncertain sound, from the Press as well as in Parliament, were of course duly appreciated by Frederick William IV, who regarded him as an egg from which a capital Minister could be hatched. Accordingly, when the General Assembly, elected by universal suffrage, met at Frankfort in 1848—that revolutionary year—and elaborated "a National Constitution," and elected the King of Prussia to the heredi-

tary dignity of the 'Emperor of the Germans,' Frederick William IV supported, if not inspired by Bismarck, emphatically declined to accept the title, for it would have made him the mere serf of the Revolution. The German people had offered him the crown; but a more potent factor than the people was the body of German sovereigns, and they had held aloof from the transaction. Bismarck regarded it, as in effect, an invitation to the king to hold his crown as a mere fief from the people for "the Frankfort Constitution bore upon its brow, the broad impress of popular sovereignty."

As regards the body of German sovereigns and free cities represented in the Diet—in which even the Kings of Holland and Denmark had seats for their German possessions—, Bismarck's connection with it lasted from May 1851 to January 1859. He had gone to Frankfort as Secretary of the Prussian Member of the Diet whose place he soon took. The President of the Diet was Count Thein, who was succeeded by Baron Prokesch of whom Bismarck told the following story:—

"Prokesch was not at all the man for me. He had brought with him the trick of the most miserable intrigues. Truth was a matter of the most absolute indifference to him. I remember once, in a very large company, there was some talk of an Austrian statement which did not square with the truth. Prokesch raised his voice and said, so that I should hear him distinctly, 'If that were not true, I should have been *lying* (and he emphasized the word) in the name of the Imperial-Royal Government.' He looked me straight in the face. I returned the look and said quietly, 'Quite so, your Excellency.' He was obviously shocked; but when on looking round, he perceived nothing but down-dropped eyes and solemn silence, which meant to say that I was in the right, he turned on his heel and went into the dining-room where covers were laid. After dinner he had recovered himself, and came across to me with a full glass, for otherwise I should have supposed that he was going to call me out. He said: 'Come now; let us be friends.' 'Why not?' said I, 'but the protocol must be altered.' 'You are incorrigible' he replied smiling. It was all right. The protocol was altered so that they recognized that it had contained an untruth." In this one respect Bismarck towered above such men—he had the full courage of his convictions.

At the German Diet the Austrians had to learn the mettle of the man, and that their claims to lord it over Prussia would not go down with him. He repeatedly intimated to them his readiness to appeal to the sword before adopting a policy prejudicial to Berlin. The mutual agreement between the rival powers to recognize Louis Napoleon on his observ-

ing existing treaties and keeping the peace, was due to their dread of revolution ; the French potentate's position being but the assertion of the monarchical principle beyond the Rhine. Bismarck's views of the liberty of the press underwent a change after coming to Frankfort. He relied on it to help him in resisting the pretensions of Austria.

It was Bismarck's steady opposition to any interference in the Crimean war that kept Prussia from helping Russia. In 1855, while that war was in progress, he paid a flying visit to Paris, where he made the personal acquaintance of Napoleon, as well as of Queen Victoria. Soon after the Peace of Paris, Bismarck embodied his views of the European situation in a paper of "such masterly grasp and insight, that it came to be known as the *Pracht-Bericht* or 'Splendid Report.' " Its essence is said to be found in the following passage : " Every now and then for the last thousand years, and every century since the time of Charles V, and in the present century, too, this is the only way in which the clock of our development can be wound up and set. . . . *It is my conviction* that at no distant time we shall have to fight with Austria for our very existence, and that it is not in our power to obviate this."

The war with Austria proved the soundness of this far-sighted opinion. The battle of Königgrätz (the King wins, as the soldiers funningly called it) or as the Austrians more correctly named it Sadowa, is regarded by Mr. Lowe as the greatest battle of modern times, those who took part in it numbering 430,000 men,—and as being greatest in political results. There was one who regarded the victory of the Prussians with no favourable eye. Napoleon, who viewed with jealousy and dismay the growing ascendancy of the Germans. Bismarck declared that no compensation would content him, short of Saxony, Hanover and Hesse-Cassel, and the intriguer at the Tuilleries had the assurance to say that he would not oppose such a concession, on condition of obtaining Mayence and the Rhine frontier ! The reply to this was that the question of compensation to France could best be settled after the conclusion of peace with Austria. "Louis Napoleon," says Mr. Lowe, "looked upon the union of the Fatherland as a thing which might give the death blow to the long standing predominance of France, and it had been his persistent aim to frustrate this by sleight or might.

Here we come to the real cause of the war with France, which was to be found not so much in the affair of the Spanish crown, as in the history of the interval between the Peace of Prague and the incident at Ems.

Even the affair of Ems showed that there was no want of

a conciliatory spirit on the part of Frederick William, for, in deference to the sensitiveness of the French, Prince Leopold's acceptance of the Spanish Crown was finally withdrawn. But this would not content the war-furies at Paris, and M. Benedetti was instructed to demand a *binding guarantee for the future*, that His Majesty would never allow his princely kinsman to stand for the Crown of Spain. There could, of course, be but one answer to this insulting demand. The French Ambassador was refused re-admission to the King's presence. This was telegraphed to Bismarck who was summoned from Varzin to Ems.

The chapter on the war with France, like every similar chapter in the book, goes as little as possible into the details of battles. It does not, of course, fail to mention Gravelotte and Sedan, but not at all in a sensational way. The position of Napoleon before and after Sedan are sketched, and the exposure of the selfish and ambitious pretender is complete, and his downfall described in language pathetic in its very simplicity.

"Practically the war only lasted a month. It was on the 2nd August that the King had assumed command of his armies at Mayence, and by the 2nd September, Napoleon was his prisoner. Standing on the hill-slope of Frenois with the King's brilliant suite of Princes and Generals, Bismarck had watched, as from the dress-circle in a theatre, the course of the stupendous conflict round Sedan (1st September) which resulted in the crowning achievement, the complete environment and capture of MacMahon's forces by the combined armies of the Crown Princes of Prussia and Saxony. And what must have been the Chancellor's feelings when General Reille rode up to the King with a letter from Napoleon himself, saying that as he had been unable to die among his troops there was nothing left for him now but to surrender his sword to his Prussian Majesty."
 "Dr. Wimpffen pleaded very hard for some mitigation of Moltke's curt and cruel terms, 'the whole French army to surrender as prisoners of war'; but the great strategist was inexorable, and the Chancellor not less so."

A few hours were granted to prolong the armistice, during which Napoleon drove out of Sedan with his Generals to the village of Douchery to make a personal appeal for more merciful conditions. He was met by Bismarck "in a small, one windowed room, with a deal table and two rush-bottomed chairs." He pleaded hard to see the King; but was shown that this was impossible before the terms of the capitulation were settled. Accordingly, settled and signed they were in the neighbouring chateau of Bellevue, after which only did King William deign to come and see his Imperial captive.

But we must hasten on to what was really the great work of Bismarck's life—the unification of Germany. We have seen how Frederick William IV had declined to accept the Imperial

Crown when offered him only by the people : but now, thanks to Bismarck's wisely waiting policy, William I was asked to accept the national crown by both people and princes, and he could not resist the double mandate. The book more than realizes the expectation of a clear and masterly sketch of Bismarck's public career.

Archæological Survey of Mysore. Epigraphia Carnataca Inscriptions in the Mysore District. (Part I.) Published for Government. By B. LEWIS RICE, C.I.E., Member of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland : Fellow of the University of Madras : Director of Archæological Researches in Mysore. Bangalore : Mysore Government Press, 1894.

FOR a parallel to the immense labours and recondite researches described in the first volume of Mr. Lewis Rice's scholarly *Epigraphia Carnataca*, one would have to hark back a hundred years and recall to mind the sublime courage, acumen and versatility of Diderot and the Revolution inaugurating Encyclopædists who fought against time and tide in the later years of Louis XV and paved the way for Egalité Orleans' bids for power and Danton's and Robespierre's seizures on it. Even then the parallel would be a very incomplete one.

Not a small point in Mr. Rice's favour is that he does not undervalue the magnitude of the work he has elected to do. Premising that the volume before us is one of a series in which it is proposed to publish all the inscriptions existing on stone or copper throughout the Mysore State, he adds : " I trust that this almost herculean task, of the outcome of which this is an instalment, may result in elucidating the till lately little known history of a country that has had an eventful past, and for which there is doubtless in store a great future. Trustworthy aids will also, it is hoped, be afforded for a better study of its interesting language and extensive literature."

The interest of the inquiry prosecuted is diverse,—historical, geographic, cryptographic, religious, sociological, polemical.

Here is a salient instance of Mr. Rice's polemical methods :—

'Two important mistakes' are attributed to my interpretation of the Bhadrabâhu inscription, No. 1 at S'ravana-Belgola. The first is—that I took Bhadrabâhu to be the S'ruta kêvalin of that name, whereas seven das'apûrvins and after them a break of unspecified duration intervene between him and the Bhadrabâhu who foretold the famine which led to the migration of the Jains to the South. But is he not said to be the one in the list ?

My second mistake is alleged to have been in interpreting the inscription to mean that Bhadrabâhu died at Katavapra and that Prabhâchandra which designated Chandragupta under his clerical name,

was the disciple who tended him. The real meaning being, it is said, that a certain Bhadrabâhu had at some remote period foretold a famine : when it came to pass, the Jains migrated to the South, and an âchârya named Prabhâchandra died at Katavapra ;—a most bald and disjointed narrative, it appears to me.

It will probably be allowed that the composer of this inscription had before his mind a definite circumstance or narrative which he wished to commemorate. According to Dr. Fleet it was the death of Prabhâchandra, and of him therefore some account was to be expected. But strangely enough, notwithstanding all the details given both before and after the occurrence of his name, not a word is said as to who he was, or how he was connected with what goes before, or why he merited the distinction of such an elaborate record. Neither is any light thrown upon him by any other inscription or narrative, all of which are entirely silent about any such person.

The phrase in which his name is introduced might, indeed, be read as Dr. Fleet wishes, and my foot-note to the translation is sufficient to show that I was aware it was not free from doubts. But after discussion of the matter on the spot, and a consideration of all the probabilities arising out of the other inscriptions referring to the matter, as well as the traditions, which are all consistent with the same, it seemed to me that the translation I published was the best entitled to acceptance. But it may further be remarked that this inscription is nowhere quoted as the basis of the traditions, which are uniformly in accord with one another, whether in inscriptions or in literature. Their credibility is not therefore affected by the interpretation given to it. The less objection consequently exists to supposing, as seems probable, that it was intended to record the same events.

Mr Rice, half-a-dozen pages further on, gives a table of the dates of the reigns of the Chola Kings independently derived by him from indigenous records ; as to which he remarks : " These dates do not perhaps exactly agree with any yet published, but I believe it is not too much to say that no two lists agree."

Max Muller and other apostles of the Aryan cult will be, *ex officio et ex precedente*, opposed to any new gospel diminishing the mystic influences that Central Asian table lands have for some time past imposed on Western world Sanskritists. They will not brook the notion that their apotheosized ' Aryans ' were but an impersonation of the power of brute force, and that no Aryavarta existed, any more than did the Valhalla of the Norsemen who made conquest of England. Mr. Rice's collection of records shows that Dravidianism is fully as worthy and acceptable a cult as Aryanism. He recognises his task as " almost herculean." His work under notice is advertised as only an instalment of a till lately little known history of a country that has had an eventful past, and for which there is doubtless in store a great future.

Here is a passage for critics to pick holes in :—

TN. 105 is an important Jaina inscription, dated S'aka 1105 (A.D. 1183), recording the death of Chandraprabha by the performance of the vow of *sallêkhana* or starving himself, a full account of which has

been given by me elsewhere.* His spiritual descent is traced from Varddhamâna, the last Tîthankara, and Gautama the ganadhara, who collected his master's sayings and composed them in sûtras. The glorious form of gurus, it is gracefully said, shines forth from the monument of their sayings as if to allay the sorrow the faithful suffer on account of their departure. Then follows praise of the Arungalanvaya, a branch of the Nandi-sangha in the Dramila-sangha. A series of illustrious Jainas are then introduced, after the manner of the inscriptions at S'ravana-Belgola, especially No. 54. First comes Samantabhadra, by whom his opponents were defeated before the lord of Vâranâsî. Who this was it is impossible to say, but among the wanderings of Samantabhadra he is said to have gone to Vânarâsî,† another form of the name of Benares. Kumârasêna, Chintâmani who composed the poem *Chintâmani*, Chûdâmani who composed the poem *Chûdâmani*, are successively praised as at S'ravana-Belgola. The last was, as we know from inscription No. 54, there named S'rîvarddha Dêva and was praised by the poet Dandin in a couplet which is quoted. He was also called the Tumbalûrâchâr-ya‡ and his work is extolled by Bhattâkalanka-Dêva in his *Karnâtaka-S'abdânus'âsanam* as if the greatest work in the Kannada language.§ He describes it as a commentary on the Tattvârtha-mahâsastra, but it is here said to be a poem, in which the author displayed all the graces of composition. Unfortunately no trace of it can be found. Then comes Mahêsvara, who was victorious in seventy great discussions, as also stated at S'ravana-Belgola. After him is S'ânti-Dêva, followed by Akalanka, by the blows of the sword of whose speech the *vibuddhi* Buddha was slain. This is a reference to his defeat of the Buddhists before king Himasîta at Kâncî in the 9th century, which led to their expulsion from India to Ceylon. Pushpasêna, his colleague, comes next, and then Vimalachandra, who put up a writing on his door in the public street, as also stated at S'ravana-Belgola, describing the S'aivas, Pâsupatas, Tathâgata sectarians (Bauddhas), Kâpâlikas and Kâpilas. Indranandi is then mentioned, who is said to have composed two works called *Pratishthâ-kalpa* and *Jvâlini kalpa*. Then comes Paravâdimalla, who explains his name before Krishna-Râja (a Râshtrakûta or Ratta king and probably the one called Akâla-varsha, ruling at the end of the 9th century), in the same way as at S'ravana-Belgola. From this point the inscription is much defaced, but the name of Maladhâri occurs. Where it is again legible we have Ajitasêna, Chandraprabha, Vâsupûjya, and Samaya divâkara, whose disciple it was that performed the *saliêkhana*.

History is a relative term ; and the documents by which it seeks to support its claims must be judged on their merits. Mr. Rice, however, poses as historiographer rather than judge. After allowing all possible liberty on either side, he leaves the judgment to the public. We are not disposed to quarrel with him ; and hope his next contribution to the series of *Epigraphia Carnataca* will include more of his own enlightening comment on these dreary chronicles.

* *Ins. at Sr. Bel.* Intro. 15 ff, ss

† *id* 42.

‡ Could this Tumbalûr be the present Domlûr near Bangalore ?

§ See my edition of the *Karnâtaka S'abdânus'âsanam* Intro. 19.

Popular Scientific Lectures. By Ernst Mach, Professor of Physics in the University of Prague. Translated by Thomas J. McCormack. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Company. 1895.

TO the reader who can ascend to Professor Mach's standpoint and maintain his balance there, the lectures printed in this volume will prove both interesting and suggestive; but they are hardly what in England would be considered "popular" lectures, and the term "scientific" is applicable to them only in the more comprehensive sense in which science includes philosophy. Indeed, Professor Mach, no doubt deliberately, confounds the boundaries of science and philosophy. Throughout the lectures there is a constant tendency of the two fields of thought to overlap or coalesce.

In the laboratory and on the platform, it is usual for the man of science, whatever he may do in the closet, to take his stand on the basis of "common-sense" philosophy, and treat invariable antecedents as causes and permanent possibilities of sensation as substance. In the present state of the human mind and of human language, this, it may be suspected, is the only fruitful course. But Professor Mach will have none of such unworthy conventions. To him cause and substance are alike fetishes, to recognise which, even provisionally, under any circumstances, or for any purpose, is rank idolatry. Throughout his lectures he is constantly endeavouring to present facts and their relations from the point of view of his own peculiar monistic conception. Thus, science to him is nothing more than description. "The grandest principles of physics, resolved into their elements, differ in no wise from the descriptive principles of the natural historian. . . . Science completes in thought facts that are only partly given. This is rendered possible by description, for description pre-suppose the interdependence of the descriptive elements: otherwise nothing would be described," and with reference to the objection that description leaves the sense of causality unsatisfied, he adds:—

"Many imagine they understand motions better when they picture to themselves the pulling forces; and yet the *accelerations*, the facts, accomplish more, without superfluous additions. I hope that the science of the future will discard the idea of cause and effect, as being formally obscure; and, in my feeling that these ideas contain a strong tincture of fetishism, I am certainly not alone. The more proper course is to regard the abstract determinative elements of a fact as interdependent in a purely logical way, as the mathematician or geometer does. True, by comparison with the will, forces are brought nearer to our feeling; but it may be that ultimately the will itself will be made clearer by comparison with the accelerations of masses."

The following passage throws further light on Professor Mach's peculiar point of view :—

"Physiology, in a word, will reveal to us the true real elements of the world. Physiological psychology bears to physics, in its widest sense, a relation similar to that which chemistry bears to physics in its narrowest sense. But far greater than the mutual support of physics and chemistry will be that which natural science and psychology will render each other, and the results that shall spring from this union will, in all likelihood, far outstrip those of the modern mechanical physics.

"What those ideas are with which we shall comprehend the world when the closed circuit of physical and psychological facts shall lie complete before us (that circuit of which we now see only two disjointed parts), cannot be foreseen at the outset of the work. . . . Whether *the notion which we now call matter* will continue to have a scientific significance beyond the crude purposes of common life, we do not know. But we certainly shall wonder how colours and tones which were such innermost parts of us could suddenly get lost in our physical world of atoms ; how we could be suddenly surprised that something which outside us simply clicked and beat in our heads should make light and music ; and how we could ask whether matter can feel, that is to say, whether *a mental symbol for a group of sensations* can feel?"

Mr. McCormack's translation is by no means always so clear, or so accurate, as it might be, and it is occasionally marred by strangely inelegant or un-English forms of expression, arising from his adhering too slavishly to the idioms of the German original. Thus we find such phrases as, "by far not so complete," for "not nearly so complete," and such downright bad grammar as, "a trained physicist or mathematician reads a memoir *like* a musician reads a score."

The Globe Trotter in India two hundred years ago, and other Indian Studies. By MICHAEL MACMILLAN, B.A. (OXON.) Fellow of the Bombay University, and Professor of English Literature at Elphinstone College, Bombay. London : Swan Sonnenschein & Co. Paternoster Square. 1895.

OCCASIONALLY, after a century or two of neglect, the world awakes to knowledge of its good men. Gemelli Careri has been dead close upon two hundred years. The indomitable courage, the wide range of learning, the intellect in advance of his time, were so many drawbacks to him in his attempts to make his way in the world. Mr. Michael Macmillan contrives to make the history of his failures and the triumphs he extracted out of his failures more inspiring than a hogshead of Mr. Samuel Smiles' sayings and doings of his too arrogant "self-help" heroes. Gemelli had a business side to his character, as witness his advice to his commercial agents as to the best merchandise to take to the East.

"One should take those round and long crystals in the shape of an olive made at Venice, because Orientals buy them at a high price to ornament their arms and legs, which they always leave bare. The theriac of Venice is still the most esteemed in the East and at Ispahan. It can easily be bartered for the precious balm of Persia, that is called the balm of the mummy. A large fortune may be gained by making such an exchange with one of the king's eunuchs, for whom it is collected. To make very considerable gain with a small capital and less trouble, it will be necessary to buy at Malta these petrified serpents' tongues and eyes found in the place where St. Paul, according to the common tradition, caused all the venomous animals of the island to assemble and die. They can be bought wholesale at a sou a piece, and in Persia and in India are sold for as much as two crowns, and for much more in China.

In the essay on "An Anglo-Indian Man of Letters," other heights and depths are sounded. It is the story of Mr. Curwen's life, and in the first page of it Mr. Macmillan writes:—"There can be no doubt that Mr. Curwen's days were shortened by hard work, and by the late hours that have to be kept by a journalist."

A pleasant essay is Mr. Macmillan's on Anglo-Indian Words and Phrases. Here is its opening:—

From a philological point of view India is now in a position similar to that of England immediately after the Norman Conquest, and to her own former position at the period of her history when Mahomedan invaders introduced Persian and Arabic into the country. Just as in England, after the Norman Conquest, there were two nations living side by side, speaking different languages, and striving to render themselves comprehensible to each other, so now in India we find everywhere Englishmen speaking English, and the natives of the country speaking their vernacular, and, as intermediaries between the two, the educated native and the Englishman who has mastered Hindustani, Marathi, Gujarathi, or whatever vernacular is spoken in the part of the country in which he dwells. Norman-French and Anglo-Saxon, after one or two centuries, coalesced into one language, and in like manner the mixture of Persian and Arabic with Indian vernaculars produced Hindustani.

Men who think will find much to think over in all these reintegrations of an old sheaf.

Anglo-Urdu Medical Handbook or Hindustani Guide for the use of Medical Practitioners (male and female) in Northern India. Compiled by Rev. GEORGE SMALL, M.A. Formerly Missionary at Benares, and latterly Missionary to Asiatics in London, in connection with the Strangers' Home, Limehouse. Calcutta: Thacker, Spink, & Co. London: W. Thacker & Co., 87, Newgate Street. 1895.

IMPRIMATURED by Surgeon-General C. R. Frances and Mrs. Fraser Nash, L. R. C. P., the Rev. George Small's *Anglo-Urdu Medical Hand-book and Hindustani Guide* comes to us with excellent letters of introduction. Mr. Small himself does not seem to have had much to do with its compilation, beyond supplying English-Hindustani vocabularies of Medical terms and Surgical appliances. We find Mrs. Fraser

Nash, F. R. S. P., &c., putting on record her opinion that—

Practitioners in India will find it very helpful if they provide themselves with a supply of the compressed tabloids of drugs prepared by Messrs. Burroughes and Wellcome. I myself have found them most useful, as they are of uniform strength and do not alter either in quality or in quantity of the drug, even in such a variable climate; besides which they are very portable, a matter of importance when journeying.

The book before us is a serviceable hand-book. It does not profess to teach the public at large how to doctor itself: it just gives the bazar names of serviceable drugs that can be obtained in bazars when resort to a hospital is out of the question.

A large proportion—though by no means all—of these lady-doctors have already found their way to various parts of India, and are engaged not only in attendance on patients at hospitals and in private Zenanas, but also in the medical instruction of native women, their valuable assistants, in the *Bīmār Khānas*, or “houses for the sick.” Very many others are now attending classes, or “walking hospitals,” with the view of going out as Medical Missionaries to India, and some as private and independent practitioners in the cities of Hindustan.

The Lay of Saint Amin and the Lord of Resin. Paraphrased from Hindi Village Songs. By Richard Greeven, Author of “Heroes Five” and “Knights of the Broom.” Calcutta Thacker, Spink and Co., 1894.

IN these poetical versions of two popular legends of Northern India we have an attempt to introduce to the English-speaking public, in a form calculated to attract the average reader, a branch of Indian literature, of which very little is known, but which possesses special merits of its own. By the side of the Old World legends, half political, half religious, which are generally supposed to form the staple of Indian imaginative poetry, there lives, Mr. Greeven tells us, in the mouths of the people, “a poesy of ballads,” which are intensely human, and full of beauty, and which “breathe a spirit of romance, at once pathetic and sublime, for which we may search in vain among the poorer classes of our own countrymen.” To a knowledge of this unwritten literature there is no royal road. To discover it, means diving down among the dregs of the people and listening for hours to the chant of filthy and tattered minstrels. It means, further, much patient forbearance on the part of the listener, and then the “piecing together of snatches in the rudest of metres and the most uncouth of dialects.” Of the two ballads here freely rendered into English verse, one was raked up among the *daffalis* or tabor men, and the other among the mehtars or sweepers.

The Lay of Saint Amin is a reminiscence of the invasions of Mahmud of Ghuznee, and illustrates the divisions in families consequent on the spread of a new religion. Zahir Pir, the hero of the second ballad, was a Rajput princeling of Bagar, who, after defeating and slaying two of his cousins who had rebelled against him, adopted the Mahomedan religion and was eventually swallowed up in a morass, during a battle. His worship, which is described by Mr. Greeven in his introduction, and the legend which forms the subject of the ballad, are peculiar to the sweeper caste.

Mr. Greeven's versions make no pretensions to literalness. He has rather treated the originals as materials for a couple of English ballads which shall convey a fair idea of their character and spirit, without being so obtrusively foreign as to repel the general reader. They cannot consequently claim any scientific value ; but if they have the effect of convincing those for whom they are intended, that the lower classes of the native population are far from being the soulless creatures they are commonly supposed to be, they will have served a worthy and perhaps a more useful purpose.

The Fauna of British India. Including Ceylon and Burmah. Published under the authority of the Secretary of State for India in Council. Edited by W. T. Blanford. *Moths*, Volume III by G. F. Hampson. London, Taylor and Francis, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street.

“IN the present volume” says Mr. Hampson in his Preface ‘the two remaining sub-families of the *Noctuidæ*, the *Focillinæ* and *Deltoidinæ*, are described. The latter consists of slenderly built, semi-diurnal, grass frequenting forms which show far greater diversity of structure, in both generic and secondary sexual characters than the other groups of the *Noctuidæ* and *Nolinæ*, through forms with oblique palpi, to a group possessing palpi of an extremely curved sickle-shaped type: from this group arose the stouter built more typically Noctui form and nocturnal *Focillinæ* and *Quadrifinæ*.”

From the above extract the general reader will have a glance of the minute analysis of form and function to which each sub-family of moths is subjected. In the original scheme of this work it was supposed that it would be possible to include most of the families of the *Pyrilidæ* within the limits of the present Volume (III) ; but this has been found impossible, on account of the great activity which has prevailed among students of Indian moths and the consequently large number of species described.

The interest, however, in the pursuit of moths is not always due to pure love of knowledge ; its economic uses are most im-

portant. The ravages committed by the *Phycitinæ*, among forest trees, corn, cotton, tobacco, &c., render M. Ragondt's first volume more useful than perhaps anything else, except perhaps his second volume on the silk-producing Bombycidæ and Saturnidæ and on the Galleriinæ, which will include the *Pyralidæ* and will make it possible to study the subject as a whole.

The present volume is a work of great research, containing a list of the principal works quoted in the synonyms and of the works which might be referred to by students with advantage. It has also a systematic Index. The body of the work contains at every 2 or 3 pages a beautiful little engraving of the profile of the moth described and a sketch of the wings, with the letter-press description of each distinctive peculiarity of the insect. The get-up of the volume is in the first style of printing and engraving and the minuteness of each item of wing, limb or structure will delight the heart of the pure student. But as we have said, it would be quite beyond the scope of the general reader, the technical terms alone being such as need special study.

The National Review. Edited by L. J. MAXSE. March 1895.
Edward Arnold, Publisher to the India Office: 37,
Bedford Street, Strand, London, W. C. 1895.

IN the present number of the *National Review*, Mr. Benson, of "Dodo" renown, is turning his attention to poetry and its future, and has written a paper pandering to the materialist spirit of the age in which, ignoring Goethe and Schiller and the mould they have helped to impress on modern poetry written in English, he arbitrarily selects Rudyard Kipling as an ensample of the Modern English School of Poetry. If Mr. Benson had any feeling for poetry, he would know that Rudyard Kipling has never been seriously thought of as a poet by any body. We are quite sure that he has never seriously considered himself one. Mr. Benson says: "Mr. Rudyard Kipling is paid for his poetry with bank notes." The manner of his payment does not make his verse a bit better or a bit worse than it was before he received a shilling for it.

Mr. Benson depreciates Matthew Arnold's verse. Matthew Arnold never pretended, even to himself, to be a poet. He echoed, and echoed creditably. He is right in his denunciation of poetasters craving for popularity. "The result of such a demand is Martin Tupper, Whittier, Sims, and Hymns, Ancient and Modern." What is wanted in modern poetry is reality in lieu of conventionality.

The Right Honourable W. E. Gladstone. A Study from Life.

By HENRY W. LUCY, Author of "A Diary of two Parliaments." With Frontispiece Portrait specially taken at Cannes, by Mr. Numa Blanc. London: W. H. Allen & Co., Limited, 13, Waterloo Place, S. W. 1895.

MR. Henry W. Lucy, Mr. Punch's dog Toby, with whose piquant and sometimes witty reports of Parliamentary sayings and doings so many of us have been so often delighted, now puts in an appearance in a novel rôle, as appraiser and chronicler of the statesmanship of the Right Honourable W. E. Gladstone. All apologists for the veteran statesman's versatility of change in political front from the high toryism of his *Quarterly Review* article in the thirties, passionately insisting on the impossibility of disconnection between Church and State, on to his equally passionate insistence now on the rightfulness of the claims to separatism of Welsh dissenters, may not be able to believe, with Mr. Lucy, that tergiversation and repudiation of duty are matters to be commended. We will not attempt to decide whether Mr. Lucy is too single-minded and honest for equivocation, or whether he gives vent to his reasons merely "parliamentarily."

We may say that Mr. Lucy has done his work well according to the light that is in him. We quote from his preface:—

Mr. Gladstone has been good enough to give a special sitting for the portrait which illustrates the work. It has a peculiar value as presenting to the public the latest sun-caught glimpse of a familiar face.

Indian Polity. Extracts from MAJOR EVANS BELL'S Works, on the true Imperial Policy with regard to the Government of India. Bombay: Printed at the "Commercial Press," 1895.

MR. Wachta talks largely of a "true imperial policy" and its relations to the safety of the Empire. If he knew what he was talking about, he would not be so inconsiderate. Prince Bismarck and his whilom pupil are the two cleverest exponents of "a true imperial policy" the world of politics has seen since the days of Cæsar Augustus, or Nero. If, in the days when those potentates bore rule, he had uttered a thousandth part of the sedition he gives vent to (under cover of other peoples' names) in the pamphlet before us, his life would not have been worth half an hour's purchase. The Pax Britannica has given him a right to call his life and property his own, which his forefathers never enjoyed, either when Vikramaditya was king, or when Mogul Emperors ruled at Delhi.

Major Evans Bell was a patriotic Englishman. He would have blushed to see his writings degraded to the uses Mr. Wachta misdirects them to.

A Free Lance in a Far Land. By HERBERT COMPTON. Author of "the Dead Man's Gift," "A Master Mariner," "A King's Hussar," etc., etc. Cassell and Company, Limited: London, Paris & Melbourne. 1895.

WHAT are here set forth as the singular fortunes of Selwyn Fyeways were probably not singular a hundred years ago with a dozen soldiers of fortune in India. Mr. Compton has caught the trick of 18th century speech, has book acquaintance with the India of the period, and has written a book that will be eligible for presentation to our sons when they come home for the holidays. There is nothing in it to scare their immature moralities, to make them precociously virtuous, or unduly to excite their imaginations. In short, it is just the sort of novel boys ought to read, if they are to be allowed to read novels at all.

The Gospel of Buddha according to Old Records. Told by PAUL CARUS. Second Edition. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Company. 1895.

BUDDHA GAUTAMA'S gospel is beautiful to behold. It falls behind Jesus Christ's in practicality, but that only means that it is better suited to the uses of orientals. Its dreaminesses and indistinctnesses are the constituents of it that please orientals and repel men of the West. Dr. Paul Carus repeats Buddhist maxims in a less critical fashion than Monier Williams and Max Muller have done.



ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

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